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Milo B. Howard, Jr., Editor

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LIEUTENANT THOMAS CAMPBELL'S SOJOURN
AMONG THE CREEKS
NOVEMBER, 1764 - MAY, 1765

by

Robin F. A. Fabel

Robert R. Rea

The most pressing concern of the infant colony of British West Florida, following the occupation of Pensacola and Mobile in 1763, was the establishment of stable and cordial relations with the Indian tribes of the interior. The Choctaw and Chickasaw, recent allies of the French, had to be won to a new loyalty, but even more critical was the attitude of the powerful Creek Nation whose lands lay between the westward thrusting Georgians and the new British posts in East and West Florida.

In spite of the influence of the French at Fort Toulouse, in the heart of the Creek country, that tribe had maintained a nervous neutrality during most of the Seven Years War, for British trade goods weighed more than French medals. The hostile attitude of the pro-French chieftain The Mortar was counterbalanced by the friendship of the old Wolf King whose town of Muklasa, just east of Fort Toulouse, both shielded British traders and threatened the French position. Hailed (quite inaccurately) by the British as King of the Upper Creeks, the Wolf King was frequently entertained at Savannah and Charleston during the war.¹

The elimination of French and Spanish authority east of the Mississippi by the Peace of Paris, and the British arrival on the Gulf Coast, created new tensions among the Indian tribes. No longer could the Creeks pursue their traditional exploitation of European rivalry. In November, 1763, the Wolf King attended a conference summoned by John Stuart, the new Southern Indian Superintendent, at Augusta, Georgia; and, consistent with his past conduct, the old Creek supported the boundary settlement for Georgia which Stuart there pro-

¹David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1967), 185, 187-188, 196, 199, 216.

posed.² Immediately following the Augusta meeting, the Wolf King turned south, and at the end of the year he joined several other chiefs visiting Mobile to receive their last presents from the departing French and their first gifts from the new masters of West Florida.

British troops under Major Robert Farmar had occupied Fort Conde at Mobile on October 20, 1763, immediately prior to the French Indian congress which met from November 1 through December 27. Thus Farmar found himself in the midst of some two or three thousand redskins and embarrassingly short of gifts with which to woo their favor. Happily, the French did everything they could to smooth relations between their old allies and the British, and Farmar discovered in the Wolf King a friend who offered sound advice. Well aware of the delicate balance of interests among the Creeks, the old chief warned Farmar against attempting to occupy Fort Toulouse. Although Farmar's instructions directed him to send troops to all the French posts, and he did order a detachment to the fort on the Tombecbe, Farmar concluded that his forces were insufficient to occupy Toulouse and contented himself with authorizing the Indian trader James Germany to reside in and maintain the English interest at that abandoned fort.³ The Creek chieftain's amity did not go unrewarded. To insure the Wolf's continued good will Farmar gave him handsome presents which included a hundred pounds of salt, two kegs of rum, three gallons of claret, two pounds of tobacco, some powder, shot, rope, two large horse bells, a pair of hose and a pair of shoes.⁴

From Mobile, the Wolf King traveled to Pensacola where he and his numerous warriors were entertained by Major William Forbes. Again there were declarations of friendship, but the Wolf made it quite clear that the lands north of Pensacola were Creek hunting grounds and any encroachment by the

²*Ibid.*, 238-239. Louis de Vorse, Jr., *The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763-1775* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1966), 151.

³Farmar to the Secretary at War, January 24, 1764; Farmar to James Germany, January 10, 1764: *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1763-1766, English Dominion*, ed. Dunbar Rowland (Nashville, Tennessee, 1911), I, 10-12, 18. Hereafter cited as MPAED. See also Robert R. Rea, "The Trouble at Tombeckby," *Alabama Review*, XXI, (1968), 21-39.

⁴MPAED, I, 70-72.

English would probably lead to war.⁵ Realizing that without access to the interior, Pensacola could not support a growing population, and that traders and settlers could not be kept out of the Indian country, Forbes and his successor, Captain Robert Mackinnen, invited the Creeks to Pensacola in September, 1764, and won from the Wolf King a few territorial concessions. Unfortunately their agreement was almost immediately repudiated by both sides: on the British because Mackinnen had no authority to conclude such a treaty, on the Creek because no chieftain could so dispose of tribal lands without the concurrence of his fellows.⁶ In fact, it would seem that the Wolf King's actions in September, 1764, cost him his leading role among the Upper Creeks, and his generosity toward the British actually strengthened the influence of his rival and Britain's enemy, The Mortar.⁷

In October, 1764, the direction of West Florida Indian affairs passed into the hands of the newly-arrived Superintendent John Stuart and Governor George Johnstone. Stuart, engaged in establishing the southern Indian boundary, had no choice but to reject Mackinnen's treaty even though, as Johnstone observed, they were surrounded by several thousand "insolent" natives who could scarcely be held at bay by the mere 250 redcoats fit for duty. The Creeks were "extremely out of humour." The Mortar was leading his nation toward war, and, the Governor moaned, "The Wolf has lost his power."⁸

Johnstone and Stuart set to their work, engaged the former French commander of Fort Toulouse, Montault de Monberaut, as a deputy superintendent, and dispatched "various embassies" to the Creek Nation. The only one of these missions to attract scholarly attention was that of Louis Augustin Montaut, who succeeded in reaching the Mortar and persuading him to attend the great Creek congress at Pensacola in May and June,

⁵Forbes to the Secretary at War, January 30, 1764: *ibid.*, I, 114.

⁶Mackinnen to General Thomas Gage, September 20, 1764: Gage Papers, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. See also Milo B. Howard, Jr., and Robert R. Rea, eds., *The Memoire Justificatif of the Chevalier Montault de Monberaut* (University, Alabama, 1965), 11. De Vorsey, *The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies*, 205-206.

⁷Johnstone to the Secretary of State, October 31, 1764: Colonial Office, 5/574, ff. 58-59 (photostats in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.).

⁸*Ibid.*

1765.⁹ A second party, sent to the Wolf King and the Tallapoosa villages, enjoyed comparable success in bringing in a number of other chiefs whose friendship was no less critical to the ends of British Indian diplomacy. It also produced a remarkable and rarely noticed description of the Creek lands and customs which merits closer scrutiny.

The author of this interesting document and the historian of the mission to the Upper Creeks was the young Lieutenant of Marines Thomas Campbell. No mention of his experiences will be found in the standard works of Clinton N. Howard,¹⁰ Cecil Johnson,¹¹ John Alden,¹² or Milo B. Howard and Robert R. Rea¹³ — an embarrassing oversight as Campbell's report was previously published in raw and unedited form by Edgar Legare Pennington in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.¹⁴ Pennington noted that "The original of this letter is preserved by Sir Arthur Grant of Monymusk, Scotland."¹⁵ Pennington's lack of interest in the significant background of Campbell's letter and his unfortunate transcription of the recipient as "Lord Deane Gordon," consigned the item to scholarly limbo. It was rescued by David H. Corkran¹⁶ who drew upon a copy at the University of Edinburgh to illustrate the life and customs of the Creek tribe but chose not to pursue its origins and author. The version utilized by the present writers was noted by Lawrence H. Gipson¹⁷ and located by Robin F. A. Fabel in the Charter Room, Blair Castle, Blair Atholl, Perthshire, where it is identified as Atholl MS. (6) 99. It is here cited with the kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Atholl. The same document was used by Pennington and Corkran, but differences of transcription exist; spelling and punctuation have

⁹Howard and Rea, *The Memoire Justificatif of the Chevalier Montault de Monberaut*, 36-37.

¹⁰*The Development of British West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley, 1947).

¹¹*British West Florida, 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1943).

¹²*John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Ann Arbor, 1944).

¹³*Op. cit.*

¹⁴"Thomas Campbell to Lord Deane Gordon: An Account of the Creek Indian Nation, 1764," *F.H.Q.*, VIII (1930), 156-163.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 156.

¹⁶*The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783*. The authors are indebted to Mr. Corkran for his gracious assistance in pursuing an elusive subject and running it to earth.

¹⁷L. H. Gipson, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, Vol. XV: *A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to the History of the British Empire 1748-1776* (New York, 1970), 354.

here been modernized for the sake of consistency and convenience.

Junior officers in His Britannic Majesty's services, after the Seven Years War, occupied an unpromising position. Peacetime assignments offered little opportunity for distinction and promotion, and most would settle into a quiet obscurity that as effectively hid them from contemporary notice as from that of modern historians. Thomas Campbell was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant of Marines on July 26, 1756, and promoted to First Lieutenant on November 15, 1759. Assigned to shipboard duty he served in the West Indies in succeeding years, and on August 3, 1763, he was transferred from the 60th to the 61st Company.¹⁸ A year later Campbell was aboard H.M.S. *Tartar*, under Commodore Sir John Lindsay. On August 6, 1764, *Tartar* sailed from Port Royal, Jamaica, bound for Pensacola. As a passenger she carried Lord Adam Gordon, Colonel of the 66th Regiment of Foot, who was embarking upon a "grand tour" of the American colonies, and during the fortnight's passage there was ample opportunity for the distinguished traveler to make the acquaintance of a Marine officer and fellow Scot. Arrived in West Florida, Gordon visited both Mobile and Pensacola, made copious observations, and was treated with great deference by all. Gordon and Campbell were both in Pensacola when the Wolf King and some 300 braves came down to talk with Mackinnen, and Lord Adam was most favorably impressed by the strict control the chief exercised over his followers. "The Wolf seemed a Sensible Old Man," wrote Gordon; and the Indian, who apparently looked his age, told the Scot that "he might be a hundred years old."¹⁹ When George Johnstone landed at Pensacola, October 21, he conferred with Gordon, and it seems likely that his Lordship brought Campbell to the Governor's attention, perhaps forwarding his assignment to the Creek mission, before the peripatetic Colonel's departure on November 1. Campbell certainly got on well with Johnstone who subsequently observed that "all his remarks were judicious," and commended him "as a most de-

¹⁸*Army Lists* (London: J. Millar, 1757-64). Campbell remained a First Lieutenant for ten years before retiring on half-pay in 1769, only to return, briefly, to active service between 1771 and 1772.

¹⁹Lord Adam Gordon's *Journal in Travels in the American Colonies*, ed. Newton D. Mereness (rpt., New York, 1961), 381, 385, *passim*. The Wolf King was still alive and resident at Muklasa in 1772, but he was then extremely feeble.

serving young man.”²⁰ Sir John Lindsay, Campbell’s commanding officer, worked harmoniously with Governor Johnstone, himself a sailor by profession, and allowed adventurous young lieutenants a great deal of freedom.²¹ There being little call for the services of Marines at Pensacola, Campbell undoubtedly leaped at the opportunity for high adventure and possible distinction offered by the Governor’s plan to send agents into the Creek country in the winter of 1764-1765. If Campbell was a sort of military attache lending the color of authority to the mission, the operation was undoubtedly guided by the Pensacola trader, John Hannay. Hannay was the brother of a well-established London merchant, Samuel Hannay, whose petition for West Florida lands Johnstone had supported prior to his departure from London in the Spring of 1764.²² John Hannay’s services and connections would soon win him appointment as Naval Officer, Register of the colony, and Deputy Provost Marshal, for Johnstone described him as “the person who went into the Creek Nation to bring down the Mortar[!], and to whose abilities and courage, in venturing himself among them while in that desperate state, we owe, in great measure, the peace with that Nation.”²³ Such was his stature in the affairs of West Florida that in November, 1765, John Hannay was named to membership on the Governor’s Council.²⁴

The mission to the Upper Creeks was instructed by John Stuart, and on November 19, 1764, the Superintendent drafted “talks” to be presented to the Mortar and the rising young

²⁰Johnstone to Conway, June 23, 1766: *MPAED*, I, 513.

²¹For another example see Robert R. Rea, “A Naval Visitor in British West Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XL (1961), 142 ff.

²²Petition of Johnstone, Hannay, and John Mackintosh, June 19, 1764: CO 5/574, f. 42. Samuel Hannay made a fortune selling quack medicine at his shop in Philpot Lane. His wealth was sufficient to enable him to become a Director of the East India Company, secure recognition as heir to a Scottish baronetcy, and win election to the House of Commons in 1784. In these matters he was closely associated with James Macpherson who was secretary to Governor Johnstone in West Florida in 1764. Johnstone was himself deeply involved in East Indian business in later years. See James M. Holzman, *The Nabobs in England: A Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785* (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1926), 60, 83, 116.

²³Johnstone to Halifax, September 14, 1765; Conway to Johnstone, March 13, 1766: *MPAED*, I, 289, 297. Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783*.

²⁴Minutes of the Council, November 2, 1765: West Florida Transcripts, State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery.

chieftain of Little Tallassee, Emistisiguo.²⁵ These were given to John Hannay and Thomas Campbell, and the two set out from Pensacola on November 20. "We were," wrote Campbell, eleven days upon the path, every evening putting up by some river or creek about sunset, where we turned out our horses, made a fire, dressed as much provisions as served us that night and next morning, spread our blankets and went to sleep. Early in the morning our guides would search [for], bring in and pack our horses. We generally set out about eight in the morning, were obliged to travel slow and continue it all day as our horses were very bad. Thus we traveled till we came to the Muckleassah village which bears north from Pensacola 213 miles.

Campbell's estimate of the distance to the Tallapoosa conformed closely with David Taitt's subsequent calculation of about 225 trail miles between Pensacola and the Cullamies, a village about three miles from Muklasa. Modern highway engineers have reduced the distance to about 180 miles. The route followed the well worn path to the Upper Creek villages charted on Taitt's "A Plan of part of the Rivers Tombecbe, Tensa, Perdido, & Scambia in the Province of West Florida" following his journey of January 30 - February 12, 1772.²⁶ The trail ran northwest from Pensacola, paralleling the Lagoon and following U.S. Highway 29 for nearly five miles, then swinging north-northwest and finally crossing the Little Scambia or Pine Barren Creek about where U.S. 29 does today, about twenty-seven miles north of Pensacola.

"As we went from the sea," Campbell continued, the land improved in a slow and equal proportion, most perceptible by the sides of creeks and gullies, where both the trees and the canes as we advanced into the country increased in strength and number. Near the sea . . . is pine barrens with a few dwarf oaks, and in the swamps there are a variety of laurels, vines, live oaks and cedars. When we got about thirty miles [from] Pensacola Fort, where we halted the second night,²⁷ we found the swamp filled

²⁵Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 205.

²⁶MPG-6, Public Record Office, London. Taitt's Journal is found in Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, 497-501.

²⁷Near Bogia, Florida.

with reeds, the leaves of which our horses fed upon very well. In shape they resemble the palmetto, but of a much livelier green colour.²⁸ At the same place we found a few chestnut trees and [a] great deal of sassifrass and golden-rod. We found many large pine trees lying across the road which kept us from traveling about twenty miles a day; they seemed to have been blown down as the roots were torn out of the ground. About fifty miles from Pensacola²⁹ there is a pine barren, two or three miles of which is entirely clear above; and the many pine trees which grow lie most irregularly upon the ground, where they appear to have been driven by some violent hurricane or earthquake. We crossed a great number of creeks, but only swam our horses over two, and found a large tree laid across each, on which we carried over our provisions and blankets.

Having followed a course roughly paralleling U.S. Highway 29 from Pensacola to Flomaton, the Creek path veered left, keeping to the west bank of the Escambia, until it reached the approximate line of U.S. Highways 31 and I-65, which it then followed to about Greenville. From thence the path bent northeasterly toward Ada. Campbell continues:

When we got about a hundred miles up the country we passed over several hills, some pretty steep but none high.³⁰ We then passed through some large thick cane swamps near a mile broad, the canes near thirty feet high, with leaves and small branches from the root to the top. The horses and black cattle feed entirely upon them all winter, in the Creek Nation, and keep very fat. We passed different sorts of land, large tracts pretty clear of underwood, and filled with red and white large oak trees, the scaly and smooth hickory, dogwood and sassifrass, chestnut, spruce and yellow pine trees; sweet maple or the sugar tree; mulberry and plum trees; large gum trees; cedar and cypress generally in the swamps; the last very large, and the bark is used for covering of houses. Between there and the cane

²⁸*Sabal minor*, the scrub or dwarf palmetto, is widely distributed in the Gulf coastal plain. It is a darker green than the saw palmetto which has yellowish green fans or leaves and is restricted to the sandy coastal area where ground water is very near the surface. Scrub palmetto is frequently browsed by both cattle and horses.

²⁹About Robinsville, Alabama.

³⁰Between Fort Deposit and Highland Home.

swamps are pine barrens, and about 50 miles before we came to the first village we passed through a most delightful country.³¹ The fields large, even and open and surrounded with thin strips of planten,³² and varied by long avenues running from east and west, of which we could never see either end. When we went up, the grass was all burned, but coming down it appeared most beautiful.

The travelers swung north through the Mount Meigs area to the Tallapoosa River, their destination the Wolf King's town of Muklasa. Known to the French as Mongoulachas, to James Adair as Amooklasah, it was located between two and nine miles east of Fort Toulouse and was said to be situated "on the left bank of a fine little creek." One of the most important Upper Creek villages at mid-century, it numbered between thirty and fifty fighting men in 1764.³³ There Campbell and Hannay found "that faithful stern chieftain" the Wolf King, in James Adair's words, "our old steady friend."

"Upon our arrival at the Muckleassah, the Wolf King's village," Campbell reported,

they had up English colours, and he and the old men came to the trader's house we put up at. A man who had been long among them spoke their language well and was appointed one of our interpreters.³⁴ After the Chief

³¹Lower Montgomery County. William Bartram traveled the Creek path from the Tallapoosa to Mobile in 1775 and described the Alabama countryside with a botanist's eye. See Francis Harper, ed., *The Travels of William Bartram: Naturalist's Edition* (New Haven, 1958).

³²Planten: a planting or uncut division of the fields by low growing bushes.

³³James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), 263, 277. MPAED, I, 94. Louis de Vorsey, Jr., ed., *De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America*. (Columbia, South Carolina, 1971), 165-166. John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians* (Washington, 1922), 207.

³⁴Swanton (*Early History of the Creek Indians*, 207) identifies the traders at Muklasa as James Germany and William Trewin. Germany was under instructions to live at abandoned Fort Toulouse, but at this date he may have preferred to enjoy the Wolf King's protection at Muklasa. Taitt found Germany at the Cullamies in 1772 (Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, 509); Harper (*The Travels of William Bartram*, 642) identified the trader at Muklasa in 1775 as John Adam Tapley, but he was a young man. The trading house at Muklasa has been established about 1740 by John Spencer who was murdered in May, 1763, by followers of the Mortar (Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783*, 213, 235-236).

first, and the rest in turn, had taken us by the hand, we all sat down; and after remaining silent for some minutes in order to rest and recollect, a custom they never neglect, the Wolf told us, as we had traveled and must be fatigued, he could ask no questions that night to trouble us, but would go home and send us some refreshment. He took his leave and the rest followed and immediately sent us some very fine boiled corned beef, with sweet potatoes roasted which were very acceptable. Next morning they came to us, and after being acquainted with the intent of our coming among them, said they were glad to see us, but that most of their chiefs and other head men were hunting in the woods, and that there were none left in their towns and villages but old men and women and those unable to bear the fatigue of traveling, and it would be some time before they would come in and we should have an opportunity of calling them together.

Finding their diplomatic mission delayed by the requirements of Indian survival, Campbell and Hannay settled into the routine of Creek life. The young Marine officer enjoyed a unique opportunity to observe the native American in his natural state during the five months he lived on the banks of the Tallapoosa. By his account he visited most of the Upper Creek villages and saw for himself their social customs, noted their military tactics, and marvelled at the rich lands of central Alabama. His subsequent report antedates and supports the better known descriptions of the Creeks published by Adair, Bartram, the French adventurer Milfort, and those few others who visited the Creek country and wrote about it during the British hegemony.³⁵

The upper Creek villages lie mostly between and upon the Tallapoosa and Coosa Rivers, which form a bight of about forty miles broad, and join a little below the Alabama Fort [Fort Toulouse], from which place they run into the head of Mobile harbour. By this river the French set up large canoes and supplied their fort with guns, ammunition, and men. The banks of these rivers are in many places high and steep, and those parts which are low are mostly thick cane swamps; the ground is in general rich. The whole

³⁵See Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783*, 3-40.

nation is bounded by our settlements upon the east, by the Cherokees on the northeast, the Choctaws on the west, the Chickasaws on the north and northwest, and East and West Florida on the South. They have a great many small creeks that run across the country. Their villages and plantations are always near a running water. They begin to plant corn, beans, and sweet potatoes [at] the beginning of April and the end of March. All the men and women go into the field together without distinction and hoe and enclose for the use of the village, which is distributed when ripe to the different families in proportion to their number. Their grounds are very rich, as [although?] they seldom change and never manure them, and have generally good crops, and they depend so much upon it as to plant no more than just serves from one year to another. When they have a bad crop they must be in great distress, as Indian corn is their chief food all summer, which they use in many different ways. By beating to fine flour in a large wooden mortar they make bread of it; by parching before it is made into flour, they make hominy or potage; and by preparing it not quite so small, and boiling it with oak or hickory ashes, they make [a] thin drink which is mostly used all summer. The salts which are in the ashes make it ferment after boiling, which gives it an agreeable tartness, makes it cool, refreshing, wholesome and fit for that hot season.

About the beginning of April the fields begin to look very agreeable. The peach trees, plum trees of many different sorts, are in bloom. The dogwood trees, the sweet smelling shrubs of which they have great variety are in full bloom; the red birds, bluebirds and nightingales sing sweetly all day, and in the night the woods resound with the wild noise of beasts, birds, and reptiles. The beginning of May, they are obliged to weed from the Indian corn the wild onions which grow very thick among them. At this time the wild strawberries are ripe, of which fruit they have great plenty: they are very near as large as our common garden ones, very sweet, and have a delicate flavour. They have a great many mulberry trees, and so large that I have been obliged often to cut them down to come at the fruit. They have very good horses, between

the English and Spanish breed, and a great many of them run wild about the woods and increase fast. The black cattle, sheep and goats increase fast; they have not many at present as they got them but lately among them. The Wolf has got about two hundred head of black cattle, most of which he has given to his children for fear they should be killed after he dies. They have great plenty of hogs of good kind, which are best in December, when they live entirely in the woods upon acorns, chestnuts and roots. In every village they have fowls, and during the winter the rivers and ponds are filled with wild fowl. Their meats are many, but what they live mostly upon when hunting in the woods is deer, bear, beaver, buffalo and wild turkeys, but when they are hungry they will put up with possums, squirrels, racoons, foxes or any other creature that comes in the way. Their meats must be very much boiled or roasted before they will eat of it. The most common way they dress it is upon a stick, put up before the fire, and some distance from it, which dries out the juice gradually and makes it keep for months. They sometimes boil it into broth with Indian corn.

The men are in general of a middle size, well limbed and clean-made, with features serious, manly and agreeable. The women are short, thick, and strong in proportion, and some of them very handsome. They give their children great indulgence. Their sons they teach to bear with patience cold, heat, hunger, and to despise all fatigue, to lurk without fire or any other food except a little parched Indian corn for several days, when they have the least expectations of surprising an enemy, for they attack them, as their game, by stealth. When at war they generally are in parties of 20 or 30, sometimes fewer. They never ask any but their own family or clan to go with them, and those they only acquaint [that] they are going out against such a nation and will remain a certain time at such a creek or hill [where] those who have a mind will find them. Their prisoners they often kill in a very cruel manner, and the women assist and are worse than the men. This seems not, however, to be their natural disposition, for they are compassionate and assist each other when in distress and are hospitable to strangers where

they have no suspicions of their having designs against them. They are jealous of our growing power from the quick increase of inhabitants in our settlements and the cultivation of their neighbouring lands. They have been for several years past laying up stores of powder, ball and other necessaries, knowing it is impossible they can continue long in peace, for no Indian is looked upon as a man till he has killed and scalped. They have within these few years killed several of our subjects and never given the least satisfaction. This makes the young men presumptuous and the old cautiously provide against the evil they cannot avoid. It lies with the family injured to revenge their own quarrel. If a man is killed, his family will revenge it upon him who committed the murder, but if he escapes they will kill one of his family, and none of the rest of the tribes will offer to interfere. The customs and superstitions among them are many, the laws few, but tho' in an irregular and confused manner, yet almost always put in execution. The women before marriage have a right to do or act with the men as they please, but if they should transgress after bound in wedlock, the parties concerned have their ears and hair cut off, and [are] beat often till left for dead; at certain times, the women neither eat, sleep nor live in the same house with their husbands. When they go out to hunt, none asks where they are going, or how long they intend to stay; that depends entirely upon the success they have. They take horses sufficient with them to carry their provisions, blankets, and wives.

The head men may call a public meeting, but any tribe may go to war without consulting the nation. None but near relations enquire after the sick, and the name of the deceased is never mentioned. When a man dies they bury his gun, shot pouch and blanket with him, shoot his horses and dogs, and put from their sight everything that was his.

. . . They have a great feast called the Busk, sometime in July, to prepare for which they fast, physic and keep from their wives four days. They then burn of the new corn, and of venison, and put out all the old fire and make a new before they will eat of the first fruits. The new fire is made by rubbing two dry sticks against each

other. There are many other ceremonies attending this great feast. A man may put away his wife, and a woman her husband, but she is not at liberty, whatever time she and her husband parted, till after the Busk. A woman must remain four years single after the death of her husband, and her freedom begins from after the Busk the fourth year.

With the approach of Spring, Campbell became particularly attentive to the public life of the villages as he and Hannay sought to stir their hosts to journey south. Writing of the tribal deliberations Campbell noted that

They have a public square in every village where all councils are held; the sides are about forty-five feet, and each is divided into three cabins covered with cane mats; they sit in these according to their different ranks, which they acquire by the number of scalps they have taken. They do not begin to speak immediately when they sit down in the square, and never upon public business till they have smoked and handed about a certain black drink called *cas-sina*; never but one speaks at a time; the rest give silent and serious attention.

Campbell and his colleague remained among the Creeks until the first of May, 1765. "When the head men were all come in," he wrote, "we called two public meetings and delivered to them what we had in charge, with which they were very much pleased, and most of the chiefs and principal men of both the upper and lower Creek villages came down with us to the Congress held at Pensacola the June following."

The Creek Congress proved to be a triumph for John Stuart and British Indian diplomacy. If the conversion of The Mortar to a more friendly attitude was the key to success, it was certainly abetted by the presence of those Anglophile chieftains who accompanied Campbell to Pensacola. The young officer is not listed among the notables who smoked the pipe of peace in celebration of the resultant treaty, but he was doubtless among the interested observers.

Campbell apparently found himself temporarily "on the beach" from June, 1765, until the end of 1766. The favor he enjoyed with Gov. George Johnstone enabled him to engage in

the most common provincial economic pastime, the acquisition of real estate. On August 13, 1765, he was granted a tract of land on Deer Point, and a further grant of 240 adjoining acres was made to him on October 3, 1766.³⁶ It is doubtful that Campbell made any effort to develop his properties, for he must have left the colony not later than the spring of 1767.

The record of Lieutenant Campbell's "journey among the Indians" was compiled while he sat in Portsmouth harbor in June, 1767. Attached to the guard ship *Dragon*, Campbell utilized his time to draft a letter, dated June 14, to Lord Adam Gordon, begging his Lordship's interest "to assist in my promotion." Having spent ten years in the Marines, Campbell had learned that promotion "entirely depends upon interest, of which I have very little or none." "Several officers have been put over my head," he sighed, "one lately who had been at Patagonia. If that was the certain road to promotion in our service I should be very happy in going." The wilds of South America would surely have provided further adventures for a man who had wintered with the Creeks in Alabama.

³⁶Clinton N. Howard, *The Development of British West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley, 1947), 66, 78.

WILLIAMSON R. W. COBB:
 RATTLER OF TINWARE AND CROCKERY FOR PEACE

by

David Ritchey

"Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm!"¹ sang Williamson R. W. Cobb,² as he campaigned for the Alabama House of Representatives in 1844 and 1845 and for the Congress where he was seated in the House of Representatives between 1847 and 1861. As Cobb sang this song which became one of the most popular songs in North-Alabama in the 1840's and 50's, he adapted to each audience. He would establish eye contact with members of the audience, wink, and punctuate "his phrases by chewing, with great gusto, a piece of onion and coarsest of corn 'pone.'" ³ Cobb's song, entitled "The Homestead Bill" and Alabama Bill Number 45⁴ which was designed "To exempt certain property from execution," provided him with the public support necessary to remain in the House of Representatives for thirteen years and to be the last Southern Representative to speak in the House before the Civil War.

The first bill Cobb proposed when elected to the Alabama Senate was a homestead bill (Alabama Bill Number 45), which provided that indigent whites could retain certain articles even though their possessions were sold for debts. He maintained in the bill that "there shall be reserved for the use of every family in this state, one dozen cups and saucers, one set of knives and forks, one dozen plates, one coffee pot, two dishes, and three cows and calves, and twenty head of sheep; also, all family portraits, and also two sets of plough gear."⁵ Alabama

¹Virginia Clay-Clopton, *A Belle of the Fifties* (London, 1905), 21.

²An artist's sketch of Cobb is in "The Last Delegation from Alabama in the Old U. S. Congress Before the War," *Harper's Weekly*, V (February 9, 1861), 81. This issue of *Harper's Weekly* is preserved in the James Pugh Collection, Department of Archives, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama. A reproduction of the illustration is included in Malcolm McMillan, *The Land Called Alabama*, (Austin, 1968), 191.

³Clay-Clopton, *Belle of the Fifties*, 21.

⁴*Acts Passed at the Annual Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama; Begun and Held in the City of Tuscaloosa, on the First Monday In December, 1844* (Tuscaloosa, 1845), 28.

⁵*Ibid.*

legislators passed this bill with little discussion. Certainly, any family, no matter how poor, deserved its crockery and family portraits. Mrs. Clement C. Clay, Jr., whose husband lost to Cobb in one election, noted in her autobiography that whenever Cobb needed to pull votes, he would remind his poor constituency in Jackson County that he had proposed this homestead bill. The cynics mused that when Cobb needed votes he resorted to "rattling the tinware and crockery."⁶

Born in Rhea County, Tennessee, June 8, 1807, Cobb and his family moved to Alabama two years later and settled on a cotton plantation. Cobb received a limited education, worked as a clock peddler for a while, and finally entered the mercantile business in Bellefonte (Jackson County), Alabama. In 1844, he was elected to the lower house of the General Assembly and re-elected in 1845. In 1847, he was elected to Congress and remained in the House of Representatives a week after Alabama had seceded from the Union. In 1865, he was elected to the Confederate Congress, but did not claim his seat. It was rumored that Cobb had received an appointment from President Lincoln as military governor of the state.⁷ This rumor was never proven. The rumor and Cobb's failure to claim his seat in the Confederate Congress, however, caused the Confederate Congress to vote unanimously to expell him. He died later that year when a pistol he was carrying accidentally discharged while he was repairing a fence on his property in Bellefonte.

Historians, contemporary of Cobb, provide a blurred image of the man. Mrs. Clay-Clopton described a rustic stump speaker. William Garrett wrote that during Cobb's tenure in the General Assembly he was "a man ridiculous enough in his manner and ideas to provoke merriment among his fellow members."⁸ Garrett noted that Cobb communicated regularly with his constituency by way of the mailbags, postoffice, and franking privilege. The author wrote that Cobb, in his speeches, "played upon their prejudices of poverty, and always presented himself as the especial friend of the poor man." Gar-

⁶Clay-Clopton, *Belle of the Fifties*, 21.

⁷W. R. W. Cobb file, Department of Archives, Montgomery, Alabama, contains one item, a "certificate to travel to all parts of the Confederate States," dated, May 26, 1864. This certificate may or may not have a relationship to the rumor that Cobb was Alabama's Military Governor.

⁸William Garrett, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama* (Atlanta, 1872), 396.

rett went on writing that despite "his demagogism, he was vigilant and true in guarding and promoting the interests of his District and section." Cobb's interest in his district and the people in his district is made evident when Garrett writes that Cobb provided a valuable service to gentlemen from his state who visited Washington in that he would "call on them, show them round, accompany them to the departments, and introduce them."⁹

Willis Brewer described Cobb as "the most striking figure that has yet stood among the mountains."¹⁰ Brewer wrote that Cobb's "knowledge of human nature was thorough, and he was the perfect type of demagogue."¹¹

Unfortunately Cobb's papers are not available. Little is known of the man except the comments by Garrett, Brewer, and Mrs. Clay-Clopton. We may only speculate at the objectivity of these historians. However, Garrett provides a clue when he writes on Cobb's refusal to claim his seat in the Confederate Congress, "His conduct subjected him to severe criticism by Southern Men."¹²

Although Cobb's speeches in the House of Representatives were probably very different from his campaign speeches,¹³ his speeches in the House provide a view of a man trapped between a personal belief in the necessity for compromise in order to maintain peace, a constituency composed of wealthy

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 397.

¹⁰Willis Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record, and Public Men, From 1540 to 1872*, (Montgomery, 1872), 286.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 287

¹²Garrett, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama*, 396.

¹³In 1844, Cobb represented Jackson County, Alabama along with Robert T. Scott, James Williams, and Moses Maples. In 1845, he was elected to represent that county with Charles F. Williams and James Williams. In 1840 the county had a population of 13,863 whites and 1,852 blacks. Ten years later the population was 11,754 whites and 2,334 blacks. See Willis Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record, and Public Men from 1540 to 1872* (Montgomery, 1872), 282 and 288.

¹⁴As a Representative in Congress, Cobb represented seven counties—Jackson, Madison, DeKalb, Marshall, Blount, and St. Clair. In 1854, St. Clair County was dropped from his district and Cherokee County was added. See *Alabama Congressional and Legislative Representation 1819 to 1960*, Historical and Patriotic Series, No. 17, 23 and 45. In 1860, Cobb's district had a population of 96,610, based on material in Brewer.

slave owners and poor white laborers,¹⁴ and a country which seemed to him to be bent on war.

Cobb's speaking in the House follows a very narrow pattern in theme and in construction. His theme was always the same — peace and state's rights under the constitution. In a brief comment made in the House, December 11, 1860, Cobb succinctly stated the theme that rang in all of his speeches: "I am not a secessionist. I desire peace . . . that my state may be awarded her rights under the Constitution. If that can be done, may God help us to remain in the Union so long as the sun shines."¹⁵

Although Cobb delivered only two major addresses and several "personal comments" in the House, the construction of the speeches and comments was similar. His speeches included long sentences in the florid style of the day. And, no doubt, he heard Clay, Calhoun, and Webster speak and was influenced by their delivery. He laced his emotional appeals to preserve the Union with personal appeals to colleagues, deceased public servants, and God. Cobb usually began his speeches by acknowledging his position in the controversy under debate and by reviewing the actions which brought him to deliver the address. He refuted verbal attacks on the South and parried Northern threats of war by inviting Northern soldiers to come South in peace. His pleas for "action," which, based on the context of the speech, may be interpreted to mean "negotiate" or "compromise." He always concluded his speeches with one sentence directed to the North, stating that the South would unite to fight if the slavery question were forced. Because this one final sentence is out of balance with the numerous pleas for peace which went before, one might assume that Cobb did not intend this final sentence as a threat of war but meant for it to serve one of two functions. First, perhaps Cobb intended to unite himself, those Southerners in the legislature who favored war, and his constituency. He was, after all, a Southern Representative and a Gentleman, and did have to return to Alabama occasionally. And, secondly, he may have implied in this final sentence another entreaty to the North to avoid war. His grim reminder of war might encourage both factions to compromise.

¹⁵*The Congressional Globe*, (36th Congress, 2nd Session), December 11, 1860, 59.

In his speech, "The Slavery Question," delivered June 3, 1850, in the House of Representatives,¹⁶ Cobb quickly dismissed the topic of the debate, the question of the admission of California to the Union, saying that he believed the territory would be admitted to the Union, perhaps not in this session, but soon. He then made references to threats by Northern Representatives to send soldiers into the South if the Southerners did not "submit" on the slavery question. Cobb answered, "We desire to receive them all, and welcome them to our sunny clime as brethern, bearing in their deportment the emblem of peace." Cobb next attempted to refute a statement by Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, who had "alluded to white laborers of the South in terms not only offensive to their representative, but highly disrespectful to themselves." Cobb reported that white laborers were treated with the same respect as slave owners and that they did not have to associate with Negro slaves. Cobb said that as a slave holder he abhorred any distinction between laborer and slaveholder. This type of magnanimity surely made him popular with his poor constituency.

Cobb began the last portion of his speech asking, "What is union of states without communion of the people?" He answered the rhetorical question by naming the cities in which Americans fought together spilling their blood for independence. He then visualized a unified America "where peace reigns, I see inscribed upon the highest pyramids, 'America! happy America! The Asylum for the poor, and a home for the oppressed! Mighty and great thou art, and shalt ever be!!'" After almost 5,500 words for peace, union and justice, Cobb ended the speech with one sentence, not in the mood of the speech, a sentence challenging the North that if any provision is passed as to slavery laws in the territories "there will be but one voice in the South, that is, resistance at all hazard and to the last extremity."

Cobb spoke briefly in the House, December 11, 1860, in reference to a committee charged with action on President Buchanan's message relating to secession movements.¹⁷ Cobb interpreted the crowded gallery to mean that "the people are

¹⁶*Ibid.*, (31st Congress, 1st Session), June 3, 1850, 646-649.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, (36th Congress, 2nd Session), December 11, 1860, 59.

looking daily and hourly for this House to do something." The "something" he believed the people wanted was a plan for maintaining the Union. In the closing paragraph of the three paragraph statement, Cobb stated his position in simple language: "I am not a secessionist. I desire peace . . . that my state may be awarded her rights under the Constitution. If that can be done, may God help us to remain in the Union so long as the sun shines!" Cobb repeated this sentiment until his death.

January 7, 1861, Cobb asked the House for "a few moments to make a personal explanation."¹⁸ He noted that the *Baltimore Sun* announced that day that "The Alabama and Mississippi delegations held a conference last evening, and afterwards telegraphed to the conventions of their respective states, advising them to secede immediately . . . I want to say that I happened not to be one of those in that dispatch mentioned." His fellow Alabamian and Representative, George S. Houston interrupted Cobb to point out that only Senators met and sent the telegrams and that no one suspected Cobb, a Representative, of participating in the conference. Cobb's reply does not indicate a response to Houston: "That was their privilege; but I did not happen to be with them." And then Cobb spoke almost 1,000 words before he was interrupted by five different Representatives. Each objected to the long "personal explanation" which was merely a restatement of Cobb's personal reaction to the secession movement in his state. The Speaker of the House maintained order and gave Cobb the floor, whereupon he explained that the slavery question was one of the "rights of property in slaves." He argued that the Constitution had settled the slavery question and that the Supreme Court had decided "that property does exist in slaves." He noted that "the right of property in slaves was recognized in the treaty of peace between Great Britain and this country, in 1782, signed by John Adams and other distinguished northern men." He referred to Article VII of the Provisional Articles between the United States of America and his British Majesty and the Treaty of Peace signed by representatives of the two countries September 3, 1783, in which appear the words "negro or other property." Cobb noted that the treaty of 1815, carried the phrase "slaves or other private property." He reminded the

¹⁸*Ibid.*, January 10, 1861, 272-273.

assemblage that the Federal Government permitted the sale of slaves for debts due the government.

Then in one of his few attempts at formal logic, Cobb framed a syllogism: "The admission that slaves were property admitted everything." And the Federal Government is bound by the Constitution to protect property. Therefore, "the Federal Government is bound to protect slavery and slaves." Cobb quickly marked the area of contention, the major premise — Are slaves property? He assured the audience that when that question was answered the states must abide by the decision. He predicted an outcome; the North will submit to the Southerners holding slaves.

Cobb began his conclusion with an emotional appeal for "gentlemen to come forward and endeavor to save the country." Creating a time honored analogy, he referred to the country as the "old ship of state . . . cargo of prosperity . . . dashing to pieces in the tempest." He challenged the Representatives to play the role of "wreckers" and to "repair her and make her sea worthy again." Cobb then made a personal commitment, "I am one of those who will . . . engage in repairing her . . . so that she may go on as before — prosperously." Concluding with a warning, he promised, "if this cannot be done, if equality cannot be maintained between the states north and south, then my people will not remain in the Union, nor will I advise them to do so."

On January 14, 1861, Cobb refused to vote when the House considered a bill to organize a militia for the District of Columbia. When the vote was called, he said, "I learn by a dispatch that the convention of Alabama has resolved that the state ought to secede from the Union; and, until I learn more on the subject than I know now, I must decline to vote."¹⁹

Only two weeks later, January 30, Cobb was the only Representative of a seceded state present in the House when he stood to deliver a 1,582 word withdrawal address.²⁰ Cobb mentioned early in the speech that the Representatives from South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama had left Washington.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, January 14, 1861, 366.

²⁰*Ibid.*, January 30, 1861, 645.

The Alabama delegation had not appeared in the Congress since the state seceded a week earlier. Cobb said that he remained in Washington because that is where he wanted to be. He said that from the time of his colleagues withdrawal "I have absented myself from the deliberations and business of this body; and from that time I have not drawn one cent of pay. He admitted that he departed with reluctance; he hoped the Union would be preserved. He asked the House, especially the Northern Representatives to "let me not go without hope." And when he asked for an "action," something done to restore confidence between the different sections of the Union to indicate that "there shall be peace, harmony, and prosperity once more restored to this now divided and distracted country." A House stenographer recorded that at this moment there was applause. Perhaps the audience applauded for the sentiment, if not for Cobb's request.

Cobb noted that during America's years of growth and prosperity, "I have seen star after star fall from the galaxy of the brightest names in our country's history — a Clay, a Webster, a Calhoun, and others." And then Cobb called on these "bright luminaries . . . to raise their voices from the grave . . . and speak to those they left behind, and tell them what their duty is!" After the appeals to these demigods, Cobb called upon the deity, "I say with uplifted hands, God save my country!" He urged the Northern delegates to send messengers of peace to the south "and we will receive them with open arms and warm hearts." Again he stated the traditional position of the South that if the North attempts "to coerce and subjugate us, we must defend our rights, and protect our lives and little ones."

Returning to his earlier plea, he asked his "northern friends . . . to save the country." He reminded them that together they had walked in the House and attempted to establish friendships. His appeals grew with emotional fervor until he beseeched them to surrender their "assumed dignity and platform" and "come patriotically up to the call of your distracted country." He said that he must leave his friends in Washington to return "to my dear Alabama, where the bones of my father and my mother rest; to defend their ashes, and to share the fate of those to whom I am closely bound, be it for weal or

for woe," The House stenographer noted at the end of the speech "applause in the galleries." One may only speculate at the response of those Representatives still in their seats.

The effects of Cobb's appearance in the House were naught. His conciliatory statements did not prevent the war and did not delay its outbreak. His voice cried for peace in the capitol of a nation ready to do battle. The effect of the speeches was on the man and not on the nation. Cobb's political stand made him popular with Northern law makers. But when he returned to his home in Alabama however, he was viewed with suspicion by other Southerners. One may only speculate at his future if he had lived past the end of the war. Could he have again rattled the tinware and crockery and sung his way into public office?

WILLIAM BURNS PATERSON:
"PIONEER AS WELL AS APOSTLE OF NEGRO
EDUCATION IN ALABAMA"

by

Robert G. Sherer

In 1915 two leading Alabama educators died. Both had devoted most of their lives to developing and improving higher education for Alabama Negroes. Both had been president of a state college for Negroes for over a third of a century. Citizens, scholars, and statesmen have honored the name and career of one of these educators during his lifetime, at his funeral, and down to the present. Except for his family's friends and his former students few writers have done anything to keep the name of the other educator from sliding slowly into obscurity.¹

At first it seems ironic that in 1915 the Negro educator, Booker Taliaferro Washington, aroused such attention and admiration while the white educator, William Burns Paterson, made so slight an impression on the public consciousness. In addition to these men's deaths, other memorable events of 1915 included the release of *The Birth of a Nation* (a rabidly racist pro-Ku Klux Klan motion picture) and the revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the twentieth century.

Actually, the different reaction to the death of Washington and Paterson confirmed the paternalistic racism characteristic of the Progressive Period. In a time of increasingly rigid segregation whites could accept and even honor a Negro president of a Negro college. A white man who devoted his life to working in a Negro institution, however, invited neglect if not ostracism from white-dominated society.

The differing education philosophies of these two leaders was even more important than their race in influencing the

¹William B. Paterson was so unknown in 1972 that Louis R. Harlan's definitive study of the early career of Booker T. Washington refers to Paterson, a Scotsman, as "a Northern-born white man." Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901*, (New York, 1972), 166; hereafter cited as *Booker T. Washington*.

way contemporary leaders assessed these men's careers. By emphasizing industrial education for Negroes, Washington appealed to the economic-practical interests of Northern industrialists—philanthropists. At the same time this educational emphasis enabled Washington to woo and win the support of prejudiced Southern whites whose economic and social interests caused them to believe that what little education Negroes received should be basically different from education for whites.

Paterson had to accept segregated education, but he alienated many the Northern and Southern whites who supported Washington by refusing to accept the principle that Negro schools should differ from white schools in the kind of training offered. Although Paterson was a successful businessman at a wide variety of trades throughout his life, he directed Negro schools for a decade before he began an industrial program. Even then Paterson kept the primary focus of his college (like that most of white colleges at that time) on classical, literary, liberal arts education. Until Alabama abolished its Negro university, Paterson constantly urged the state legislature to fulfill its pledge of university education for Negroes, i.e. truly equal, if necessarily separate, education for Negroes. Paterson's espousal of such egalitarian education ideas during an age of increasing segregation aroused considerable animosity. At best, Paterson's idea led to a neglect of his school and to a determination to ignore the life, career, and thought of this maverick white man.

To understand fully the "Age of Booker T. Washington," it is important to deal with those educators who opposed the "Wizard of Tuskegee." There are several other important reasons for studying Paterson's life. Paterson provides an interesting variant on the story of the poor, immigrant lad who came to the United States soon after the Civil War and by determination, ambition, and hard work at a variety of jobs rose to a position of some influence. Unlike most such immigrants Paterson desired the personal rewards of teaching as well as the economic rewards of business. While he continued his business activities, he increasingly devoted his time to a rigorous schedule of teaching, administration, and fund raising. Paterson's business interest makes him important in the economic history of Montgomery, Alabama because he founded

one of that city's leading florists, Rosemont Gardens, which is still flourishing under the direction and ownership of his descendants.

Finally, Paterson's story reveals how one man overcame prejudice. In his early letters Paterson always refers to Negroes as "niggers" and he is only concerned with them as a source of cheap labor. Once he begins his school, the derogatory term disappears from his correspondence. Paterson's marriage in 1879 to a "Yankee schoolmarm" who had come south to teach Negroes confirmed and strengthened his concern for this oppressed race. Despite frequent antagonism from their white neighbors and troubles such as the abolition and relocation of their school, the Patersons continued their work with Negroes for the rest of their lives.

Washington deserves much of the popular and scholarly attention he has received. Paterson deserves more attention than his life's story has yet received.

Paterson's career had been "strange and chequered" when he so described it in 1872; and so it was to remain until his death in 1915. Immigrant, clerk and salesman, farmhand, carpenter, hod-carrier, contractor, contractor and builder, footloose wanderer, railroad construction worker, shipyard worker and sailor, immigrant agent and land developer, florist—Paterson tried all these roles in addition to the one for which he is best known, President of Alabama State College,² 1878-1915.

Paterson was born in Tullibody, Clackmannshire, Scotland, on February 9, 1849, to John and Janet Burns Paterson. In accordance with Scotland's compulsory education laws, the Paterson children attended school for the entire year except for two weeks during harvesting. William had to leave school after completing only three years because of poor health. Evidently his illness was aggravated only by closed places for immediately after leaving school he began working outdoors on the nearby estate of Lord Abercrombie where he received fifty cents a day for caring for the estate's lawns with his father, "a Scotch

²This has been the college's name since 1954. In addition to the names mentioned in the text, the school has been the State Teachers' College, 1929-1946; the Alabama State College for Negroes, 1946-1954.

Gardner of limited means." While working here William acquired the love for, and skill with, flowers which later enabled him to establish a very successful florist's business in Montgomery.³

Like their Viking ancestors (attributed to the Patersons by family histories), William and his brother, James, left their home to seek adventure in strange, new lands. James followed the more conventional course of enlisting in the British Army. William, however, struck out for America on his own as a freight ship's deck hand. William arrived in New York in 1867.⁴

Mary Frances Terrell, who graduated from Paterson's school and taught with him for twenty-four years, believed a missionary urge brought Paterson to America. She said that Paterson was so impressed by reading about the Scotsman, David Livingstone's work in Africa that Paterson "decided that he, too, would visit the benighted continent and work

³Mary Frances Terrell, "William Burns Paterson, A Life Sketch," *The State Normal Courier*, II (February 7, 1924), 4; hereafter cited as "William Burns Paterson." Although several items in the family papers said William was born in 1850, William, himself, in a letter dated May 23, 1870 said he was twenty-one years old, i.e. born in 1849. The Patersons believed that William's mother was a lineal descendant of John Burns, the brother of the poet, Robert Burns. Unidentified biographical sketch of W. B. Paterson. Letter from a son of John Paterson in Scotland to John W. Anderson, a teacher at Alabama State College for Negroes, December 11, 1952. W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, May 23, 1870. Walter B. Jones, "Off the Bench: William Burns Paterson, 1850-1915," November 3, 1952. Clipping. Paterson papers. Private collection held by W. B. Paterson's descendants. Brown, Clarence A., *Biographical Sketches of the Presidents of the Alabama State Teachers Association* (Montgomery: Alabama State Teachers Association, [1967]), 1. All letters in the Paterson collection are photocopies (except the one to Haygood and Wallace Paterson). The originals were in Scotland when these copies were made in 1952. This author's letters and a trip to Scotland in the Summer of 1970 as well as the efforts of the Manuscripts Librarian of the National Library of Scotland have failed to locate either the letters from which the photocopies were made or any relative of Paterson who had any additional information. This is extremely unfortunate since the photocopied letters dealt only with Paterson's early years in the United States.

⁴Mimeographed "History of the Pattersons [*sic*]: A Bit of History, Legend, and Tradition." The Paterson papers contain several letters from James to John and to "father" describing the places in Africa and India where James served and some of the battles in which he fought. W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, May 23, 1870, Paterson papers. Brown, *Biographical Sketches*, 1.

among the heathens." Unable to save enough money to go to Africa, Paterson decided to come to America instead.⁵

Paterson might have told or intimated this story to his students, or Miss Terrell might have invented the story; but his true reason for coming to America was less noble. In 1870 Paterson wrote to his brother, John, in Scotland "... to know how far I have succeeded, it is necessary to know the aim with which I started. I have been now three years in this country I wanted to see the world, and one can choose no better place to do so than America."⁶

Soon after arriving in the United States Paterson became a mail boy in a mail order house in New York. He quit after seeing his boss open a letter, take out the money in it, and discard the letter. Traveling by the Erie Canal to Buffalo, New York, he then went to St. Louis, Missouri to work on the railroad. Impressed with the freedom he observed in the West, in 1870 he wrote that he had found the freedom in the United States no greater than that in Britain except "in the Far West where there is no law except Lynch, and every one does as he thinks right."⁷

Paterson's next job was in the Navy Yard in Washington, D.C. At the Centry Market in Washington he "had his first 'square meal' after his tramp from St. Louis in 1868." He stayed in Washington from September, 1868 until April, 1869. Paterson then returned to the sea, working on ships that visited New Orleans and Mobile. From Mobile, he traveled up the Tombigbee River to Demopolis, Alabama where he spent six months working with a dredging crew on the Black Warrior River. In this unlikely situation Paterson began his teaching career by helping the Negroes in the ditching crew learn to read and write during their lunch hour. When he heard of a railroad being built between Selma and Greensboro, Alabama, Paterson left the dredging crew to work on the railroad.⁸

⁵Terrell, "William Burns Paterson," 4.

⁶W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, May 23, 1870, Paterson papers.

⁷C. M. Stanley, "A Scotch Lad's Gifts to Alabama," *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, Undated clipping; W. B. Paterson to Haygood and Wallace (his sons), no date but after 1897; W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, May 23, 1870, Paterson papers.

⁸Brown, *Biographical Sketches*, 1. Stanley, "A Scotch Lad's Gifts."

Paterson's rambling took him through all the states but five. While he made "numerous" trips of one to five hundred miles, he once travelled twelve hundred miles with only a dog, a gun, and a fishing line. During these footloose years he worked at a wide variety of jobs. In addition to those already mentioned Paterson also worked as a salesman, farmhand, carpenter, and hod-carrier. He wrote in 1870, "I have turned my hand to anything." During these travels he was able to save some money except for one year when the ague bothered him.

By 1870, having used up the three years "which was the time [he] allotted [himself] to ramble," Paterson felt that he was ready to give up his "romantic idea" of seeing the world and to settle down in Hollow Square, Hale County, Alabama. He was then working as a labor contractor of "as many niggers [sic] as [he could] get a hold of." He paid each worker \$1.25 a day plus four pounds of meat and a peck of meal per week. He thought he would make a profit of twelve to fifteen hundred dollars that year.

Paterson was then working on a plantation, living with the overseer, who was only two years older than Paterson. They got along "like brothers." Paterson liked his job and location. "I am as comfortable as I could be anywhere. . . . I am as happy as the day is long and I have every reason to be so. In the meantime I contract to do anything at which I can make money."

Paterson had no trouble finding jobs. By being "honest and [doing] what [he contracted] for [he was] sure of work as much as [he could] do."

Paterson was also doing well socially. His friends had introduced him to most of Hale County's families including some of the wealthiest people in the county. Although he felt it might be egotistical to say so, Paterson wrote that once he met someone he was "sure to be welcomed again." One basis of his popularity was his reputation as "one of the best arithmeticians around here."⁹

⁹Although we must remember that this was Paterson's half-joking assessment of his own ability, the comment is a sad commentary on the general level of education (white or black) in Hale County since Paterson had only three years of school in Scotland. William Burns Paterson to John Paterson, May 23, 1870, Paterson papers.

The only change Paterson considered in 1870 was a more lucrative job offer. A plantation owner offered him "1,200 dollars and perquisites, which would be 8 or 10 more" to become his overseer. Since Paterson wanted very much to return to Scotland that summer (which would have been impossible had he taken that job), he probably turned down this appealing offer.

In view of Paterson's later career in education, his attitude toward teaching in 1870 was surprisingly negative and materialistic, although even then the veneration accorded teachers by his family showed through. This inbred respect for teachers might have been one of the factors which later led Paterson to foresake his total commitment to the scramble for wealth and to devote much of his time to teaching.

Evidently in reply to a question about teaching from his brother, Paterson wrote that he did not agree with those people in Tullibody who thought that he should have become a teacher. Paterson felt that he could "honestly say that [he] would not change places with Mr. McMartin [the head of the school in Tullibody] today." Paterson's reason for not teaching was economic. He believed that he would have made as much profit at the end of 1870 as Mr. McMartin "has made altogether, and that without working a stroke. (I don't [sic] call watching niggers [sic] work.)"¹⁰

While Paterson's remarks about teaching indicate that he was primarily concerned with making money, he was also aware of the social advantages of living in the United States. After having lived in the more stratified Scottish society, Paterson was delighted that he had found a place where he could be judged solely on his own performance. He knew that he would have had no real chance to raise himself socially in Scotland, "what [anybody in Tullibody] is now he will be twenty years hence." Had Paterson remained in Tullibody, people would have always addressed him with a nickname, "Juck, Wull Paterson, or at best they might have said Wellum." If he had showed any real ability, the villagers "would have expected that as a matter of course from [his] education." Then, if Paterson had sought a higher social status, his effort would

¹⁰William Burns Paterson to John Paterson, May 23, 1870, Paterson papers.

have touched off vicious gossip. His neighbors would point out that Paterson's father was just a laborer so William "need not hold [his] head so high." In the United States, however, he was "*Mr. Paterson.*" Here people judged him by his "abilities and conduct which [was] all [he asked]." He believed that "the former always speak for themselves and [he did not] think [he needed to] be ashamed of the latter."¹¹

This newly experienced equalitarianism which Paterson found so personally satisfying might well have influenced him to later treat Negroes according to *their* "abilities and conduct." But in 1870 Paterson's ideas about Negroes were prejudiced and contradictory, like the views held by many whites at the time. Paterson's 1870 letters referred to Negroes as "niggers." After 1870 he mentioned "the people" with whom he worked and who greeted him upon his return from Scotland, but he never again wrote "nigger." He showed the contradiction in his thinking about Negroes by writing in the same letter that "there is no distinction of race or color" in the United States and that "all *white* [sic] men are equal in the Southern States, no matter how poor he is, if he behaves himself as a gentleman he is treated as such."¹²

Paterson was evidently a born leader, promoter, and organizer. In 1870 he was already planning to establish a Scottish colony on a large plantation. He believed that he could easily have gotten sixty Scottish families for this project. At first Paterson's neighbors supported this land scheme. When some opposition developed, however, he decided to abandon the plan. To prove what he could have done Paterson did bring "several Scotsmen from the north who were then working in this country."

By November, 1870, Paterson had moved from Hollow Square to Candy's Landing to supervise the building of a freight shed. He saw this as a step up from labor contractor to building contractor. He employed one Scottish joiner and his "other hands [were] niggers[sic.]" Paterson had learned his trade by working as a joiner for three months in the North. Although he had evidently never been in charge of constructing

¹¹W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, November 14, 1870, Paterson papers.

¹²W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, May 23, 1870, Paterson papers.

a building before, he was confident of his ability to do so. He wrote that he could probably not pass a craftsman's test, but that he did not have to take one. He knew "how the work ought to be done and [had] the talent to carry it out." He was then taking as many jobs as a director of joiner work as he could find. By November 14, 1870, he had completed this job and had moved to Greensboro, Alabama, "where [he had] prospects of establishing [himself]."¹³

In 1871-1872, Paterson was concerned about the violence and disreputable politics of Greensboro, where everyone was "dabbling in politics." There had already been one fight over the November election which "promises to be quite lively." He reminded his brother that fights in America were quite different from those "you used to enjoy at home for where pistols flash and bowie knives flourish in the air it is rather serious. Every man and boy goes armed and most of the ladies to [sic]."¹⁴

Paterson deplored violence and courageously opposed it when it was perpetrated by extra-legal vigilance committees like the Ku Klux Klan, which did "pretty much as it [had] a mind to do" in Greensboro. The Klan had visited Greensboro twice that year. They came the second time to get one of the Klansmen out of jail. Although "the terror in which they are held" made it "difficult to get men to stand guard," Paterson and several other men had guarded the jail for one week. At midnight on Sunday one hundred masked men, fully armed "rode into town and demanded the keys of the jail from the turnkey. Their horses feet were muffled so that they moved along as quietly as a spectre." As soon as he saw them, Paterson fired his pistol into the air as a signal. In about ten minutes "two dozen men out with nothing on but their pants and a pistol in each hand" had surrounded the Klansmen. Like Paterson, these townsmen "were all good citizens who had sworn to resist all lawlessness and break up all secret organizations in the County." When the guard refused to give the keys to the Klansmen they brought up a battering ram to break into the jail. A firm stand by Paterson and his friends at this point, however, destroyed the influence of the Klan for a

¹³W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, November 14, 1870, Paterson papers.

¹⁴W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, September 24, 1871, Paterson papers.

time in Greensboro. Just as the battering ram was in place, the Klansmen "saw 50 revolvers levelled on them and knew the first stroke they gave would be the signal for us to fire; they desisted and remounting, marched off lucky in saving their scalps. They have not been heard of since in this county."¹⁵

In a country where "politics pervades everything," Paterson deplored political corruption as well as violence. In reply to a question about James Fiske, Jr., Paterson wrote that thousands were worse villains than Fiske, "but their tact and fear of disgrace keep it hid from the public view. It is a hard matter for any one who has never been in America and especially N. York to believe how low the people have sunk in moral degredation [*sic*]."¹⁶

Prior to 1870-1871, Paterson's story was much like those of thousands of immigrants who flocked to the United States after the Civil War to seek adventure and fortune. After landing in New York, Paterson toured much of the country, taking whatever jobs he could find. As late as 1870 his main interest seemed to be making as much money as he could. Although the economic opportunity and equalitarian social structure of America favorably impressed Paterson, the political corruption and violence appalled him. A decent, law-abiding man, Paterson was courageous and active in opposing extra-legal violence. The conflict he witnessed in these and later years was the basis for what Paterson's students remembered as one of his favorite quotations, "Happy is that country that has no history, because history generally is a chronicle of strife and turmoil."¹⁷

But something happened in 1870-1871 to turn this genial materialist with some ambition and opportunity for social advancement into a self-sacrificing teacher of a rejected race.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, one of the biographical sketches of Paterson said he was a member of the Klan. The author intended the membership as a compliment to Paterson since the reference came in a list of prominent people Paterson had known. According to this article, Brooks Smith had told of Paterson's membership in "the original Ku Klux Klan formed at Greensboro when it was a badge of honor to be identified with the reconstruction organization." Stanley, "A Scotch Lad's Gifts to Alabama," Paterson papers. In the light of Paterson's letter quoted above, any such assertion that Paterson was in the Klan seems ridiculous.

¹⁶W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, May 6, 1872, Paterson papers.

¹⁷"Notes for Mrs. Marie B. Owen." Paterson papers.

The transformation was even more startling since Paterson had specifically denied any such intention and stressed as late as May 23, 1870, that his main aim was to make money. In 1873, however, he wrote that he was doing well although the government had not paid their share to his school, Tullibody Academy, in Greensboro, Alabama for a year and a half. Although he had made some money from the school fees, the state then owed him "300 pounds." Even though Paterson expected to receive this amount after the taxes were collected that year, something must have happened for this hard-working, ambitious Scotsman to change his mind, begin teaching, and then to continue teaching for a year and a half without pay from the state.

The reasons which impelled Paterson to become a teacher, especially a teacher of Negroes with the social ostracism that implied, can only be inferred. Paterson never ceased to further his own education. He had "rambled a great deal since [he] left home but [he had] never neglected [his] intellectual improvement." Another factor was that elusive quality, status. Paterson was proud to be "considered one of the best arithmeticians around here." Already elevated to "Mr.," Paterson could become "Professor" by teaching. In describing a newspaper story about the closing exercises of his school Paterson wrote, "You would have been pleased I have no doubt at the eulogistic remarks on '*Professor [sic] Paterson.*'"¹⁸ Finally, perhaps Paterson's organizing urge, thwarted in the project for a Scottish colony, asserted itself in his efforts to build up a school.

But all this does not explain why Paterson would choose to teach a Negro school, thereby alienating many local whites. Paterson's original decision was due to the specific circumstances in the South after the Civil War. When he moved to Hale County in 1870 he became a close friend of the McFaddens who owned a large plantation near Greensboro. Like many other plantation owners, the McFaddens faced the "problem of keeping Negroes on the plantation in reconstruction days." The means they adopted were an eloquent testimony to the fierce desire for education of the newly emancipated Negroes. Paterson helped the McFaddens keep the Negroes

¹⁸W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, July 24, 1873; May 23, 1870, Paterson papers.

on the plantation "by starting a school for Negroes on the plantation."¹⁹

In this school, started for purely economic reasons (to maintain a labor force on a plantation) at the request of a friend, converged all the factors which shaped Paterson's later life: his love of learning, his equalitarian attitude toward opportunity for each individual, his interest in leadership and organizing, his desire for appreciation of his abilities and for status, his opposition to political corruption and violence, his previous experience teaching Negroes on the dredging crew, and his first-hand knowledge of the overwhelming desire and need of Negroes for an education.

Paterson began his school on or near the McFadden plantation in a brush arbor. He then moved his school into a log house named Hopewell about four miles from Greensboro. In 1871 Paterson moved his school to Greensboro. He began in Greensboro with only five or six students "under the oaks, with logs for benches." He then utilized his talents as a builder in constructing his own schoolhouse, "a frame structure 65 x 45." Paterson named his school, Tullibody Academy, in honor of his home town in Scotland. He remained at this school until 1878 when he became the principal of the Negro school in Marion.²⁰

Several of Greensboro's whites protested when Paterson began the town's first school for Negroes. They opposed Negro education, especially if it would cost the whites anything. "'Let the Negroes educate themselves,' they said." Paterson had "a long and hard struggle" getting money to support the school. His friends, the McFaddens, and other "plantation owners and leading citizens" did all they could to help him with his school. With this support and much hard work, Pater-

¹⁹Stanley, "A Scotch Lad's Gifts to Alabama." Although the rest of the article is confused and often inaccurate, this explanation of how and why Paterson began teaching Negroes seems to be the most accurate of any in the Paterson papers or elsewhere. Other explanations, e.g. "seeing the need of education for Negroes," are inadequate in view of the reasons Paterson had for not beginning such work.

²⁰Brown, "Biographical Sketches," 1. Agnes J. Lewis, "A Sketch of Professor J. W. Beverly," *The State Normal Courier*, II (February 7, 1924), 11-12. Unidentified biographical sketch of Paterson, Paterson papers.

son gradually "won the respect and admiration and aid of the best people of that portion of the South."²¹ Thus, a few of Greensboro's more affluent whites paternalistically supported the school, but other whites in the community were indifferent or hostile to Negro education.

While Paterson was President of Tullibody Academy, he devoted most of his time and energy to the school. After a trip to Scotland for his father's funeral in 1875, he wrote that his relatives "would not be astonished at me enjoying a holiday" as much as he did if they knew his schedule at Tullibody. In Scotland he spent all his time after the funeral "frolicking" and enjoying himself. But "Business is business, and Pleasure is pleasure and better not mix them." Paterson believed that no one in Alabama worked harder at his business than he did. Before coming to Scotland, he had not taken a holiday from his school work for three and one-half years.

I teach common school 5 days normal school on Saturday Sunday School for two hours on Sunday besides attending church two or three times that day and six months every year I teach night school. All this besides various other business I have to attend to.

Later that month Paterson wrote, "I am attending to my business here which takes all my time. . . . I occupy my time almost wholly in teaching day, evening, and Sunday School." Despite this rigorous schedule Paterson was quite pleased with his work. "I make enough and am as happy and contented as can be."²²

²¹Terrell, "William Burns Paterson," 4. Walter B. Jones, "Off the Bench." Undated clipping, *Montgomery Advertiser*. Jones did say, however, that the opposition died down in a few years. Jones, "William Burns Paterson," quoting Jesse B. Hearin, *The Gulf Breeze* (New Orleans), October, 1952. Undated clipping. "Notes for Mrs. Marie B. Owens." Stanley, "A Scotch Lad's Gifts." Paterson papers. Stanley had already revealed, however, (as noted above) that any aid the McFaddens gave was based, not just on any real concern for the intellectual development of Negroes, but primarily on a desire to keep field hands on their plantation or at least in the county.

²²W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, October 11, 1875. Paterson found Greensboro somewhat dull after his trip to Scotland in 1875. He was, however, pleasantly surprised at the reception he received on his return. "I could not describe the welcome they gave me." W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, October 23, 1875. Paterson papers.

By September, 1873, Paterson (probably aided by one or more assistants) was planning to offer reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry, music, drawing, Latin, Greek, German, French, Spanish, Hebrew, chemistry, and philosophy. The Methodist college in Greensboro in 1873 indicated its confidence in Paterson's teaching ability by offering him a professorship, but "for a whim of [his] own" he refused it.²³

In 1877 a local paper, the *Alabama Beacon*, judged the Tullibody Academy "among the better Negro schools." At that time it was "a well organized school with a faculty of four teachers and the principal."²⁴

On July 26, 1878, Paterson left Tullibody Academy to accept the Presidency of the State Normal School and University for Colored Students and Teachers in Marion, Alabama. Like medieval scholars John William Beverly (Paterson's best student, later fellow teacher, finally his successor) and perhaps other Tullibody students followed Paterson to Marion and continued their studies with him there. Tullibody operated until at least 1886 since Beverly served as the school's principal from 1882 until 1886.²⁵ Evidently Tullibody closed or merged with the public schools when Beverly left in 1886.

State Normal had begun as an American Missionary Association school, Lincoln, in 1867. In 1871 Alabama gave the school its first annual appropriation and it became Lincoln Normal School. In December, 1873, Alabama took full control and responsibility for Lincoln when the Board of Education "authorized the permanent establishment . . . of a State Normal School and University for Colored Students and Teachers." The A.M.A. acquiesced in this decision and gave the land and building to the state on the condition that Alabama maintain

²³W. B. Paterson to John Paterson, July 24, 1873, Paterson papers. In view of the later debate about industrial education it is interesting to note that no mention of the subject occurs in the Paterson correspondence and that no source mentions industrial training at Paterson's school until some time after he assumed the presidency of the state school at Marion.

²⁴Glenn Nolan Sisk, "The Alabama Black Belt: A Social History, 1875-1917," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Duke University), 188. There is no record of the names of these other four teachers or when they joined Paterson's faculty

²⁵Brown, "Biographical Sketches," 5.

Lincoln as a normal school and university, a promise Alabama was later to break.²⁶

In 1874, Alabama amended the original law to make clear its intent to make Lincoln a true university, "it being the intent and purpose of this act to provide for the liberal education of the colored race in the same manner as is already provided for the education of the white race in our university and colleges." These acts created "the oldest state institution in America established for the function of teacher education and liberal arts education [for Negroes]" since the earlier Negro state institutions, Lincoln University of Missouri (1866) and Alcorn College in Mississippi (1871) were land-grant, agricultural and mechanical colleges.²⁷ Although the name, Lincoln, lingered on, the Marion school was really State Normal after 1874.

In 1878 Professor George W. Card, the principal of State Normal since 1874 and the only white man besides Paterson ever to serve as principal of a state-supported Negro normal school in Alabama, retired. Paterson then became president of the school, a position he held until his death in 1915.

State Normal then had only one building and an enrollment of 127. Like Tullibody, State Normal had four teachers in addition to Paterson. The school's curriculum was classical only. "There was no provision for industrial work, athletic training, and other Departments of Culture that add to literary

²⁶*Lincoln Normal School, Marion, Alabama* (New York), 1. *The Alabama State College for Negroes, Montgomery, Alabama: Freshman Handbook, 1950-1951*, 12. Mimeographed copy. Hooper Councill Trenholm, *Yearbook of the Alabama State Teachers' Association, 1949* (Montgomery, 1949), 24. For a full study of Lincoln School under the A.M.A. before and after Alabama took control of the school, along with a fuller treatment of the history of the State Normal School and University see Robert Glenn Sherer, "Let Us Make Man: Negro Education in Nineteenth Century Alabama" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1970); hereafter cited as "Negro Education in Nineteenth Century Alabama."

²⁷*Freshman Handbook*, 12. Trenholm, *Yearbook, 1949*, 15, 25. H. B. Williams, "Legal Provisions for the Education of the Negro in the State of Alabama, and How They Affect the Program of Negro Education from 1873-1949," (Unpublished masters thesis, Alabama State College for Negroes, 1950), 16-17; hereafter cited as "Legal Provisions."

development." The main emphasis of the school were on "vocal music and literary training."²⁸

In 1879 Paterson added a life-long teacher to his staff when on June 5, in Selma, Alabama, he married Margaret Bingham Flack, daughter of Newton R. and Annie Bingham Flack of Canfield, Ohio. After graduating from Oberlin, "Maggie" joined hundreds of other "Yankee schoolma'ms" by coming south to teach. The "grit" and determination Maggie inherited from her Irish ancestors stood her in good stead as she faced the trials of the Yankee school teacher in the South.²⁹

In addition to his teaching and administrative duties Paterson performed many other services to improve his school. He spent much of his time trying to raise money for State Normal.³⁰ He was an active, and often successful, lobbyist in the Alabama legislature. But Paterson spent most of his time, especially in the early years, promoting State Normal in the Negro community. Paterson "did extensive traveling among [Negroes], visiting churches and various communities throughout the state, lecturing and preaching in the interest of the school." As a result of such trips, "the school was well advertised, and was greatly aided in building up a good and regular attendance of students as well as in adding many substantial friends among the colored and white people to its roster of supporters."³¹

By 1885 Paterson had increased the faculty to ten and the student body to over three hundred. Equally important were Paterson's efforts to improve the quality and level of education in the school. In partial refutation of conservative white charges that the leaders of Negro schools pushed programs of higher education before some of the students were completely ready for such work, Paterson had not begun a full university program until he was sure he had enough students

²⁸Sarah H. Koyton, "State Normal's First Graduating Class," *The State Normal Courier*, II (February 7, 1942), 5.

²⁹Unidentified biographical sketch of W. B. Paterson. Jones, "Off the Bench." *Rosemont Gardens*, printed folder. Jones, "William Burns Paterson," quoting Hearin, *The Gulf Breeze*. Stanley, "A Scotch Lad's Gifts," Paterson papers.

³⁰Jones, "William Burns Paterson," Paterson papers.

³¹A. S. Plump, "State Normal as 'the Lincoln Normal University' at Marion," *The State Normal Courier*, II (February 7, 1942), 6.

to profit from this level of training. By 1885, however, Paterson was sure that he did have enough students sufficiently prepared to warrant the establishment of a complete university program. In his annual report in November, 1885, Paterson called on the legislature to redeem their pledge to the A.M.A. and to Alabama's Negro citizens to provide them with equal university education. Paterson told the legislators that "the time is at hand when one of the objects of the school . . . to be a state 'university for colored students' . . . will have to be recognized and sufficient support given to carry out this object."³² But Alabama's legislature had no intention of making the school into a true university in fact as well as name in 1886. Indeed, the basic issue for State Normal was not to be its improvement, but whether it was to even exist or not.

In 1887 an incendiary fire destroyed State Normal's main building. This incident was indicative of a growing hostility toward the school, especially on the part of the cadets of Howard College (Alabama's white Baptist college then located in Marion). When Marion's white merchants joined in the movement to get rid of State Normal, Marion's Negroes retaliated with a boycott which forced three merchants, Mason, Drake, and Irpy into bankruptcy. But the whites won out when the Alabama legislature broke its commitment to the A.M.A. to maintain a Negro school in Marion by passing a unique law which forbade the use of any of the buildings for Negro education and provided that Alabama's Negro University could "be located anywhere except at Marion."³³ At the insistence and with the help of Marion's Negroes, the A.M.A. re-established a Negro school at Marion, but it was not able to offer truly college level work.

After the legislature banished State Normal from Marion questions still remained about the nature of the school and where it was to be located. By 1887 even those white leaders such as Thomas Seay (Governor, 1886-1890) and Thomas Goode Jones (Governor, 1890-1894) who were most sympathetic to Negroes' education were opposed to the Negro University as

³²*Ibid.*, 6-7.

³³May L. Phillips, *Lincoln Normal School, Marion, Alabama*. ([American Missionary Association, 1905]), 1. [Montgomery] *Herald*, January 8, 1887. Huntsville *Gazette*, March 26, 1887, quoting the [Selma] *Independent*.

it had been originally established.³⁴ Although the school's Board of Trustees had originally consisted of two whites and five Negroes, Seay chose only whites to serve on the board in 1887.³⁵ T. G. Jones, one of Seay's appointees and a defender of the college, stated emphatically why he believed an all white board was necessary.

The protection of our wives and children from insult rests on something mightier and nobler than whether a Negro shall learn algebra or have a particular school here.

The absolute control of the Trustees over the institution ought to convince anyone that it could never become a hot bed of rudeness and insult. Education controlled and directed by our own people will repress not merely the expression but thought like [Montgomery Negro editor] Duke's and produce on the contrary, politeness, good will, respect for authority and good deportment.

Jones also made it clear that the school was an university in name only when he pointed out that State Normal was to be "an industrial school."³⁶

The relocation of the school aroused controversy among Negroes and whites in Alabama. Whites in the two most likely new locations, Montgomery and Birmingham, worked hard to keep the school out of their town. Negroes in each city did all they could to get pledges of land and money to bring the school to their town. The major exception among Negroes was Booker T. Washington who worked primarily against the loca-

³⁴These men are "friends" of Negro education only insofar as they opposed those whites who disapproved of any education for Negroes, especially on the college level. Men like Seay and Jones did not favor truly equal education for Negroes, but at least they did not feel that even inferior, different Negro education was inconsistent with white supremacy.

³⁵Horace Mann Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama; A Study in Cotton and Steel* (Washington, 1939), 109; hereafter cited as *Negro Education in Alabama*. At least one Negro editor called for a majority of Negroes on the board while other Negro editors at least wanted Negroes represented. *Huntsville Gazette*, July 2, 1887. Several eminent Negroes in Montgomery finally agreed to serve on an advisory board to aid the trustees.

³⁶Interview with T. G. Jones, *Montgomery Advertiser*, August 21, 1887.

tion of the school in Montgomery because it would then compete with Tuskegee for students.³⁷

If his school had to leave Marion, Paterson preferred Montgomery as the new location. In late 1886 and early 1887 he approached his friends in Montgomery and urged them to work to have the school established there.³⁸ After the Board of Trustees chose Montgomery as the site for the school, Paterson did not hold any grudge against Washington for his opposition to locating the school in Montgomery. In January, 1888, he wrote Washington that he "would be pleased to talk to [the Tuskegee] students" and suggested several possible topics for his speech.³⁹

In the end it was not Washington, Paterson, or the Negroes of either city who determined the location of the Negro University. Along with the Governor and the Superintendent of Education, the Board of Trustees first favored Birmingham as the location, but decided to delay their decision until their second meeting in July. At this second meeting, someone pointed out that Howard College was planning to move to Birmingham and suggested that the Negro University should not be located too near this college. After hearing this argument, "there was a change of views on the part of most of the trustees; and when the matter again came up, Montgomery was chosen by a unanimous vote."⁴⁰

White opposition to the location of the school in Montgomery did not cease after the board's decision. Two white

³⁷Huntsville *Gazette*, June 26, July 16, March 26, July 30, 1887. Montgomery *Herald*, August 6, 1887. Although neither possibility was seriously considered by the trustees, Marion's and Selma's Negroes also sought the school for their town. M. J. Stevens to Booker T. Washington, May 24, 1887. S. Childs to Booker T. Washington, February 10, 1887. Booker T. Washington Papers (Library of Congress). Although Washington's actions did not affect the outcome, a good summary of his opposition to locating the school in Montgomery appears in Harlan, *Booker T. Washington*, 166-168. Since Washington and his faculty worked so openly against locating the school in Montgomery, we do question Harlan's emphasis on Washington's secret maneuvering.

³⁸Jesse C. Duke to Booker T. Washington, January 20, 1887, Booker T. Washington Papers.

³⁹William B. Paterson to Booker T. Washington, January 11, 1888, Booker T. Washington Papers.

⁴⁰Arthur L. Brooks to Booker T. Washington, [1887], Booker T. Washington Papers. T. G. Jones, Interview, *Montgomery Advertiser*, August 21, 1887.

citizens of Montgomery, Alexander Troy and William E. Elsberry, took their request for an injunction to stop the school to the Alabama Supreme Court. In February, 1888, in *Elsberry v. Seay* the court ruled that the law establishing the Negro University was unconstitutional. Since the Negro University was not under the Superintendent of Education, it was not a part of the public school system and, therefore, it could not receive school funds. As a result of this decision the only money the school received in 1887-1888 was \$500 from the Peabody Fund and \$2,500 of the \$7,500 granted it by the 1887 law. In 1888-1889 it received no funds from the state.⁴¹

Against this background of white opposition and legal conflict, Paterson moved to Montgomery and began seeking a site for the college in the summer of 1887.⁴² He met with "some of the leading citizens of the city" and then called a mass meeting at the Old Ship African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. At this meeting Paterson announced that the state would build the school if the people of Montgomery would buy the land and donate it to the state. This meeting was well attended and "much interest [was] manifested in the proposition" because Montgomery then did not have sufficient Negro schools to meet the needs of the school age Negro children. Weekly mass meetings began in the churches of Montgomery to arouse interest and to raise the necessary funds.

Seeing this response, Paterson decided to try to open the school at once and he sought a temporary location. He accepted Rev. William Jenkins' offer of the Beulah Baptist Church on Norton Street and Genetta Ditch. Paterson used the church for assembly rooms and as a chapel. He obtained classrooms by renting rooms in four houses and two former store buildings.

One of the leading Negro Baptist churches in Montgomery, the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, showed its support for the school by contributing its basement for registration. Then, on October 3, 1887, "about four hundred children together with their parents and friends gathered within the walls of 'Beulah' Baptist Church "for the opening day of the Alabama Colored

⁴¹Williams, "Legal Provisions," 17.

⁴²Terrell, "William Burns Paterson," 4.

People's University. In addition to Paterson, the first faculty consisted of nine teachers.⁴³

All the teachers on the first faculty at Montgomery "labored at a great sacrifice, receiving little or no salary" since the students could not pay very much tuition. The strain was particularly severe in 1888-1889 when the Alabama Supreme Court's declaring the law establishing the school unconstitutional made the teachers almost entirely dependent upon tuition. During this period the school subsisted on public subscriptions and a tuition fee of \$1 per student per month. The teachers and students gave entertainments to raise the money to buy the school's first musical instrument, an organ. Teachers also raised money by the sale of the products of the girls' classes in plain sewing and fancy work.⁴⁴

During the first term in Montgomery, Paterson grouped the 358 students into Grammar Grades and four classes in the Normal Department. By 1888, despite the legal setback, the enrollment had grown to five hundred students in the Normal, Preparatory, and Industrial Departments. Paterson hoped to establish a Collegiate Department, but "no students presented themselves of sufficient attainments to profit by a college or university course of study." During the 1888-1889 term, Paterson added a primary department, the Model School, not just to give teaching experience to the Normal students but to relieve "the congested conditions of the public schools." Paterson acquired four houses on South Ripley Street for this Model School.⁴⁵

After the decision of the Alabama Supreme Court in February, 1888, Paterson's school received no state aid for one year. Then, on February 23, 1889, through the influence of men like T. G. Jones and Thomas Seay, the Alabama Legislature created the State Normal School for Colored Students to be located in Montgomery.⁴⁶ As the new title indicated, the school

⁴³Frances Reynolds, "Reminiscences: The First Years at Montgomery," *The State Normal Courier*, II (February 7, 1924), 7; hereafter cited as "Reminiscences." *Alabama State College Bulletin: Montgomery, Alabama: 1967-1968*, V (July-August, 1967), 21.

⁴⁴Reynolds, "Reminiscences," 7. James S. Julian, "Reminiscences: The Period of 1890-1894," *The State Normal Courier*, II (February 7, 1924), 8.

⁴⁵Williams, "Legal Provisions," 16-17. Reynolds, "Reminiscences," 7.

⁴⁶Williams, "Legal Provisions," 18.

was not to offer collegiate work, but could only give secondary classes and teacher training. The state of Alabama thereby betrayed its pledge to its Negro citizens to provide them with collegiate and university education, the condition on which the A. M. A. had given land and a building to the state in 1874. Not until the third decade of the twentieth century did Alabama begin to redeem this pledge.

The actions of the Alabama Legislature and Supreme Court, 1887-1889, clearly showed their changing attitude toward education and Negroes. Beginning in 1889, Alabama formally declared its determination to have special education for Negroes; not only separate and unequal to white education, but also education of a quite different kind. Negro education in Alabama was not to have its capstone — college and university training. This decision, the consequences that flowed from it, and the 1891 Apportionment Act⁴⁷ indicated a basic re-orientation of white Alabama leaders regarding Negro education. The fundamental decision was that "Negro education" was special education for second-class citizens who had no need for collegiate training.

Once the legislature appropriated the money for establishing and maintaining State Normal, the board of trustees began meeting with an elected, advisory, local Negro board to select a site for the school. On May 8, 1889, the state board formally accepted the donation from Montgomery Negroes of \$3,300 and a campus site of six and one-half acres located east of South Jackson Street between Tuscaloosa and Thurman Streets in Montgomery.⁴⁸

Even though the school act of 1889 represented a drastic official redirection of Negro education, State Normal needed funds so desperately that even the news of this assistance

⁴⁷This act specified that school funds would be distributed among the races in proportion to the amount of taxes paid by Negroes and whites. Even where school officials honestly and impartially followed this formula, the money appropriated to Negro normal schools (Montgomery, Huntsville, and Tuskegee) came out of the Negroes' share of the school fund, further reducing the amount received by local Negro teachers and schools. The money for the University of Alabama and white colleges, however, came from specific appropriations by the legislature, not out of the public school fund.

⁴⁸Julian, "Reminiscences," 8. Bertie L. Hall, "A Bit of History," *The State Normal Courier*, II (February 7, 1924), 8. *State College Bulletin*: 1967-1968, 21.

touched off a celebration among the faculty and students. Paterson summoned all the students and faculty into the assembly room at the Beulah Baptist Church. After Paterson read the "official announcement . . . scenes of the wildest excitement and exhibitions of unbounded joy and happiness were for a time indulged in." Singing, prayers, and addresses turned the rest of the "morning of serious study . . . into a holiday of celebration and thanksgiving."

Although State Normal had an appropriation and a site, the buildings were not finished by the fall of 1889 so the school had to open once again in "Beulah Bottom." Mr. Garrott, head of the Industrial Department, and some of the male students completed the remaining minor work like installing desks. In a few weeks the students were able to move into the new buildings.

The curriculum now consisted only of "a Normal course . . . but a very liberal one." Before the new trustees took over, however, "the course included a full college course, or rather was so intended." With a new purpose as well as new quarters the State Normal School for Colored Students at Montgomery graduated its first class of six young men and two young ladies in 1890. (No classes graduated in 1888 and 1889 because of the confusion surrounding the move and the appropriation.)⁴⁹

In 1890-1891, Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee, William B. Paterson at Montgomery, and William Hooper Council at Huntsville — the heads of the three Negro normal schools in Alabama — sought the money provided in the Second Morrill Land Grant Act for a Negro land grant college in Alabama. At first these three men tried working together to avoid a "squabble" over the share of the money each school would receive. When they realized that only one school could receive the money, however, the competition began in earnest.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Julian, "Reminiscences," 8-9.

⁵⁰ Booker T. Washington to W. H. Council, August 30, 1890. W. H. Council to Booker T. Washington, September 2, October 9, 1890. W. B. Paterson to Booker T. Washington, October 30, 1890, Booker T. Washington Papers. For some reason Harlan's biography of Washington neglects this entire incident.

Alabama's senators in Washington, James Lawrence Pugh and John Tyler Morgan, intended for the Negroes' share of the money to go to Tuskegee. They made this clear in arguing for an amendment to the Morrill Act which would allow the money to go to Negro schools which did not have "college" in their official title.⁵¹ Also, Washington's good rapport with local and national leaders, the absence of any trouble at Tuskegee, the proximity of Tuskegee to the white land grant college at Auburn (which would facilitate co-operation between the two schools), and other factors clearly gave Washington the edge in the competition. But on February 3, 1891, Washington delivered a speech before a Negro Convention in Montgomery. In this speech he condemned the Appropriation Act (passed the day before) and attacked a bill being considered by the Alabama House which would have required segregated transportation.⁵² The sensational, distorted, prejudiced coverage the Alabama papers gave this speech evidently ended Tuskegee's chances for the land grant money.

In the ensuing struggle between Council and Paterson, both men had some liabilities. Conflict with whites caused Paterson's school to leave Marion and move to Montgomery in 1887. In the same year, however, Council had to resign his presidency for one year to save his school after an uproar involving two incidents in which he, and then some of his students, attempted to sit in "white" railroad cars.⁵³ In this atmosphere an unscrupulous or desperate man could use the race issue in the controversy over the land grant money with telling effect.

Unfortunately, Council succumbed to this temptation. In 1891 he won the money for his school by stirring up the prejudice of the legislators against a white man who would serve as the president of a Negro college. A year later, Washington admitted to Paterson that "of course I knew that Mr. Council in speaking before the legislative Committee used your color to prejudice the members against you." To his credit, Wash-

⁵¹Juanita Lee Williams, "Federal Legislation Relating to Negro Land Grant Colleges" (Unpublished masters thesis, Howard University, 1933), 71-72, 76.

⁵²Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 158.

⁵³For a full story of these incidents, see Sherer, "Negro Education in Nineteenth Century Alabama."

ington refused to use this tactic. In a letter to Paterson, Washington insisted that he had instructed Mr. Warren Logan and all those who were seeking the money for Tuskegee "that if we could not get [the money] without ['passing' crossed out, 'drawing' written in] the color line not to fight for it."⁵⁴

Councill continued his attacks on Paterson even after Huntsville received the land grant money. Councill said that since Paterson was white, he should not be in the Alabama State Teachers Association (Negro) and that Paterson should not be president of the State Normal School.⁵⁵ Paterson deeply resented Councill's remarks about the S. T. A. because both men had been among the founders of the organization in Selma in 1882.⁵⁶ Indeed, Councill's attack might have been partly motivated by envy and resentment because he was never elected president of this body, whereas Paterson was the unanimous choice of the delegates as the S. T. A.'s first president. During his presidency, Paterson had stressed "racial solidarity and self-reliance," a rather unusual theme for the white president of a Negro organization. Paterson had been active in the S. T. A. ever since its founding.⁵⁷

Because of these personal attacks, Councill considered dropping out of the S. T. A. and refused to attend the 1892 meeting in Huntsville, Councill's home town. Councill seized on Paterson's absence to attack him further at this meeting. In 1893, P. H. Patterson (a member of a Montgomery Negro law firm and not related to W. B. Paterson) wrote Washington declining an invitation to be on the program of the S. T. A. "in consideration of the treatment of the Pres. and Faculty of the State Normal School by the State Teachers' Association during its session, last year."⁵⁸

⁵⁴Booker T. Washington to W. B. Paterson, May 4, 1892. Washington was telling Paterson the truth. During the fight he had written Logan, "Do not go into the dirt with Patterson even if we lose the money." Booker T. Washington to Warren Logan, December 11, 1890; Booker T. Washington Papers.

⁵⁵Booker T. Washington to W. B. Paterson, May 4, 1892, Booker T. Washington Papers.

⁵⁶*Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year, 1882-1883.* (Washington, 1884), 9.

⁵⁷*Yearbook on Negro Education in Alabama in 1930-1931.* (Montgomery, 1931), 68.

⁵⁸Booker T. Washington to W. B. Paterson, May 4, 1892. P. H. Patterson to Booker T. Washington, August 26, 1893. Booker T. Washington Papers.

Again, in contrast to Council, Washington worked hard to persuade Paterson not to leave the S. T. A. just because of Council's attacks. Washington noted that ten of the eleven meetings of the S. T. A. had not offended Paterson and urged him not "to judge all the future by one meeting in view of the past."⁵⁹

Washington also assured Paterson that he did not believe that Paterson should step down from the Presidency of State Normal. Washington condemned Council, saying that Negroes "should be the last people in the world to draw the color line." He opposed putting a Negro into a position just because of his race "or removing a white man from a position where he is doing well simply because of his color." Washington insisted that he had never, in private or in public, "said or intimated that [he] was against [Paterson's] holding [his] present position." Instead, Washington fully supported Paterson. "If I had it in my power to say who should be president of the Montgomery school I should certainly give my vote to you."⁶⁰

Paterson and his supporters at Montgomery were reconciled with the S. T. A. by at least 1899. That year and in 1900 Paterson's former student, assistant, and successor as president at State Normal (upon Paterson's death in 1915), John W. Beverly, became the President of the S. T. A.⁶¹ While Paterson was never an officer of the organization again, had there been any remaining antagonism on either side one as close to Paterson as was Beverly would neither have been elected nor would he have served in this position.

A difference in educational philosophies may have heightened the ill feelings between Paterson and Council, although a similar disagreement between Paterson and Washington never marred their relationship. Council and Washington believed that Negro schools in the South should focus primarily on vocational, industrial training. Paterson, along with the white teachers of the American Missionary Association schools

⁵⁹Booker T. Washington to W. B. Paterson, June 12, 1893. Booker T. Washington Papers.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, May 4, 1892.

⁶¹Personal Data Sheet of John William Beverly, Brown University Archives.

and many of the Negro heads of Negro schools in Alabama, believed that Negro students should get precisely the same classical, liberal arts collegiate education as did white students in most colleges and universities in nineteenth century America. Since the early days of Tullibody Academy, Paterson insisted on including Latin, Greek, and modern foreign languages in his school's curriculum.

Paterson's stress on the traditional college courses in his school did not mean that he was bound by traditional teaching methods. At the organizational meeting of the State Teachers' Association [Negro] in 1882 Paterson showed that he kept up with the latest educational developments when he chose to tell the teachers about the "Quincy Plan," a new educational program developed in Quincy, Massachusetts, by Francis W. Parker, the "father of Progressive education," according to John Dewey. While there was no evidence that Paterson actually adopted the Quincy Plan in his school, he did show a continuing interest in educational methodology. In his annual report in 1899, for example, he deplored the exclusive discussion of the *what* of education if this made educators overlook the importance of the *how* or manner and quality of education.⁶²

While Paterson had more experience at a wider variety of jobs than either Councill or Washington, Paterson refrained from establishing an industrial department at State Normal until 1883-1884. Even then, he refused to divert money from the academic program. Only when Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry of the Peabody Fund and Atticus Greene Haygood of the Slater Fund furnished the money did State Normal begin an industrial program in 1884.⁶³ Even after the establishment of industrial work at State Normal, Paterson kept the primary focus of the school on its academic program. In 1890 during the congressional discussion of the Morrill Act, Senator J. T. Morgan contrasted Paterson's school, "a fine literary college," with

⁶²*Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1882-1883*, 9. Cremin, Lawrence A., *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957*, (New York, 1961), 129. Cremin outlines Parker's educational ideas on pp. 128-135.

⁶³Willis Gaylord Clark, *History of Education in Alabama, 1702-1889*, Circular of Information No. 3, 1889. Contributions to American Educational History, edited by Herbert Baxter Adams (Washington, 1917), 275.

Washington's school, "a normal mechanical and agricultural school."⁶⁴ Since Morgan believed that Tuskegee offered the proper kind of training for Negroes, his praise of State Normal is even more impressive than that of friends of the school.

Paterson, then, believed in giving Negroes all the education along classical lines that they could assimilate. Only after the legislature removed any provision for university-level work from the school's charter in 1889 did Paterson cease planning and lobbying for collegiate and university training for Negroes. One who taught with Paterson for twenty years recalled his attitude toward the necessity for students to do manual labor. "He said little to the students about work, but could be seen doing something almost daily. The boys who were not afraid to work enjoyed laboring with him." This idea of teaching the importance of manual labor by example only certainly contrasts strongly with Booker T. Washington's incessant exhortations to his students about the value and importance of manual labor.

Although he drove himself hard, Paterson always found time to oversee the planting and care of trees and flowers on the campus. As a result, the campus "put forth many hues in spring and summer while the office and chapel were always fragrant with cut [flowers]." Paterson shared his flowers by sending free flowers to important public gatherings.⁶⁵

This interest in flowers led Paterson into yet another career after he came to Montgomery. The catalytic event was the wedding of the daughter of one of Paterson's friends in 1890. A wagonload of chrysanthemums, which Paterson and his wife sent to their friend "attracted so much attention that their donors were persuaded to commercialize the raising of flowers." The Patersons came to see growing flowers commercially as a means of providing "a business for their growing family. It was their ambition to create something beautiful and profitable." From its beginning in a sixteen by fifty foot greenhouse on a five-acre plot in 1890, Paterson's Rosemont Gardens grew to become one of the largest florists in Mont-

⁶⁴Williams, "Federal Legislation Relating to Negro Land Grant Colleges," 76.

⁶⁵Jones, "William Burns Paterson." Trenholm, *Yearbook*, 1949, 26. Terrell, "Reminiscences," 4-5.

gomery. Over a half century after Paterson's death, his direct descendants still conduct the business. To share his interest and knowledge of flowers Paterson helped found and became a charter member of the Alabama State Horticultural Society.

Throughout his life Paterson remained sentimental about Scotland. When a group of Scots organized in Alabama to celebrate the anniversary of Robert Burns, they elected Paterson as Secretary and chose him to give an address at their third meeting.⁶⁶

In addition to his teaching, Paterson did what he could for and with Negroes in many ways. He was one of the organizers and first president of the Negro teachers' group in Alabama, the State Teachers' Association. He aided in some way "every church (colored) in [Montgomery]." He gave larger churches donations. He donated specifically needed items from chandeliers to heaters to several smaller churches. "His purse was always open toward 'Old Ship' [A.M.E.Z.] Church, for he said, 'The school had its birth there.' "

Paterson was also concerned about individuals, especially his students. "Every child reported to him was helped." Paterson knew by name all the pupils in the school. He called the younger pupils his "buds of promise" and he enjoyed watching them grow up. One of his students believed that Paterson's high moral standards influenced many of the people (white and Negro) which he met.

The one thing that Paterson most looked forward to at Commencement was the Alumni Reunion. At this time every year he could get some feeling for the difference that State Normal had made in many lives. On one of these occasions he remarked, "My prayer is Lord, make it fifty years." Paterson had no regrets about his career. He wished his epitaph to be, "He taught Negroes fifty years." Paterson was only five years away from this goal when he died on March 14, 1915.⁶⁷

⁶⁶L. D. Hale, ed., *The Courier Courtesy Magazine*, IV (February, 1927), 3. Jones, "William Burns Paterson." Quoting Hearin, *The Gulf Breeze*, Jones, "Off the Bench." "Third Celebration of the Anniversary of Robert Burns," Montgomery, Alabama, 135th Anniversary, January 25, 1894, Program, Paterson Papers.

⁶⁷Terrell, "Reminiscences," 5.

Hooper Councill Trenholm, Secretary of the State Teachers' Association in 1931 and Paterson's second successor as President of State Teachers' College (1925-1962), aptly summarized Paterson's career when he wrote that Paterson was "the pioneer as well as the apostle of Negro education in Alabama."⁶⁸

While this is something of an overstatement of Paterson's contributions, he was an important figure in Negro education in Alabama. Paterson symbolized all those Negro and white teachers in Negro schools who believed that Booker T. Washington's program of stressing industrial to the detriment of academic education for Negroes was a mistake. Paterson and those like him continued to insist that Negro leaders needed the same kind of academic training as did whites. This message made the Paterson group unpopular in Alabama and kept their schools from receiving the substantial philanthropic contributions lavished upon Tuskegee. But Paterson, his successor, John W. Beverly (B.A. Brown University, 1894) and others like them were eventually to prevail in the twentieth century.

Another of Paterson's legacies, the example of white working in Alabama's state Negro colleges, with all the implications this carries for ultimate equality and integration, lay dormant for several decades after his death. During the civil rights struggle of the 1960's, however, this ideal flourished and is still growing. If we remember Paterson for what he stood for as well as what he was able to accomplish in an age of increasing segregation and prejudice, he can be seen as one of Alabama's most outstanding educators.

⁶⁸Hooper Councill Trenholm, *Yearbook of the Alabama State Teachers' Association, 1931* (Montgomery: State Teachers' College, 1931), 68.

“WILL THE FREEDMEN WORK?
WHITE ALABAMIANS ADJUST TO FREE BLACK LABOR”

by

Sylvia H. Krebs

When the Civil War finally ended in the spring of 1865, the attention of the national government and the Northern public was focused on the dramatic problems of political and social adjustment necessitated by the events of the preceding four years. For Southerners, however, white and black alike, the most pressing problems were those associated with the more mundane business of making a living, and the majority of Southerners still depended on farming for their livelihood. Although the agricultural situation was not hopeless, neither was it good. Land, buildings, fences and tools had suffered the destruction of military action or deteriorated from want of attention. In the same way the number of farm animals had been seriously reduced. Even though available cash and credit facilities were drastically limited, the problem that seemed to weigh most heavily on the minds of white Southerners was that presented by the emancipation of the slaves and the subsequent disruption of the traditional labor system. The complexities of a problem which carried political, social, and economic implications were boiled down to a simple question: will the freedmen work?

In June 1865 Josiah Gorgas, former Confederate chief of ordnance, observed in his diary: “But the world will wag on and his [the Negro’s] freedom will cling to him and the master will continue to cultivate his land, with black labor or that failing with white.”¹ Few white Alabamians were as casual as Colonel Gorgas about the labor system although there was no consensus as to the prospects. John Richard Dennett, traveling in Alabama and other parts of the South for *The Nation*, reported the various viewpoints that he encountered. The views ranged from the pessimistic conviction that, without slavery, no cotton could be grown at all to the optimistic be-

¹Dairy of Josiah Gorgas, June 2, 1865. Gorgas Collection (University of Alabama Library, Tuscaloosa).

lief that free black labor would be superior to slave labor.² Whether optimistic or pessimistic, white Alabamians generally assumed that some means of control over the freedmen would be a necessity. F. W. Kellogg, collector of internal revenue in Mobile, reported that "all classes of society are willing to submit but regret the abolition of slavery and believe that some system of compulsory labor must be established. . . ."³

On the other hand, not all Alabamians were as willing to submit as Kellogg thought. There were those who were unwilling to accept the death of the peculiar institution. Brigadier General Christopher Andrews testified before the Joint Select Committee on Reconstruction that "the majority undoubtedly cherished the hope of having the [Emancipation] proclamation, in some manner, revoked."⁴ Andrews' estimate was undoubtedly exaggerated, but there were diehards. William C. Jordan, a planter in Bullock County, ignored the order to free his slaves and was charged with parole violation by the military authorities. In defending his actions, Jordan insisted that he could not have been guilty because the Thirteenth Amendment had not been ratified at the time and that the validity of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was doubtful.⁵ When the state convention met in September 1865, some delegates were unwilling to accept the Thirteenth Amendment unconditionally. However, the opponents of the amendment seemed to be primarily concerned with leaving the way open for possible later compensation for the loss of their slaves.⁶

Even those white Alabamians who were willing to accept the destruction of slavery were influenced in their approach to the problems of free labor by certain traditional assumptions about blacks. One such assumption was summed up by an

²John Richard Dennett, *The South As It Is: 1865-1866*. Ed. by Henry M. Christman. (New York, 1965), 289.

³Statement of F. W. Kellogg, Collector of Internal Revenue, Mobile, September 9, 1865. Andrew Johnson Papers (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.).

⁴U. S. Congress, House, *Reports of the Committees*, No. 30 "Goergia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas," 39th Cong., 1st Sess. (Serial Set No. 1273), 148.

⁵Henry E. Sterkx, "William C. Jordan and Reconstruction in Bullock County, Alabama," *Alabama Review*, XV (1962), 63-64.

⁶*Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the State of Alabama held in the City of Montgomery on Tuesday, September 12, 1865* (Montgomery, 1865), 29.

editorialist in the *Eufaula Daily News*: "A negro will be a negro in spite of h--l; and there is no use talking."⁷ Another assumption was stated by Governor Robert M. Patton in his first address to the state legislature. Echoing President Andrew Johnson, Patton said: ". . . it must be understood that, politically and socially, ours is a white man's government. . . . the State affairs of Alabama must be guided and controlled by the superior intelligence of the white men."⁸ Although the governor specified political and social matters, the assumption of superiority by whites condemned blacks to a second class status in every aspect of life including the economy.

White Alabamians' worst fears about free labor were often reinforced by the conditions existing in the remaining months of 1865 after the surrender of the Confederate armies. In the place of slavery's guaranteed labor supply, there was a body of free blacks unwilling or unable to work. Among Alabama blacks the initial reactions to emancipation varied. However, there was a general inclination to celebrate their new status and to test freedom by rejecting both work and controls.⁹ Rumors of land division kept the hope of independent farming alive for many blacks until early 1866. Such hopes were entirely justified; federal troops, members of Congress, and even white Southerners (expressing their fears of what might happen) had spoken of confiscation and redistribution of land.¹⁰ The new status of black women gave them the opportunity to choose their own housework rather than farm labor. Such debilitating diseases as tuberculosis, venereal disease, yellow fever, and small pox not only further depleted the labor supply but also convinced some whites that blacks might become extinct in a short time. As late as March 1866, the *Huntsville Advocate* estimated that, if all available labor were employed, only two-thirds of the tillable land would be

⁷*Eufaula Daily News*, October 14, 1865.

⁸*Journal of the Session of 1865-6 of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama* (Montgomery, 1866), 159.

⁹See John B. Meyers, "Reaction and Adjustment: The Struggle of Alabama Freedmen in Post-Bellum Alabama, 1865-1867," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (1970) 6-7, for a discussion of initial black responses to emancipation.

¹⁰Oscar Zeichner, "The Transition from Slave to Free Agricultural Labor in the Southern States," *Agricultural History*, XIII (1939), 23.

in use, but under the existing labor conditions only one-half of the land would be cultivated.¹¹

The deep distrust of free black labor reinforced by existing conditions led many Alabama whites to believe that other sources of labor must be found. Thus efforts were made to induce white immigrants from the northern states and Europe to come into the state. There was even a proposal that Chinese laborers might be imported. Newspaper editorials recounted the opportunities available for white laborers, and when it became obvious that such publicity was not enough, various public and private plans were suggested for encouraging immigration.

It was proposed that Alabama adopt a plan similar to one used in Virginia and the Carolinas. These states had authorized a commissioner to advertise available land, open information offices, distribute pamphlets, and station agents at various places in Europe. Such a scheme, its supporters suggested, could be financed privately in Alabama.¹² When a state-wide plan was not adopted, individuals saw a business opportunity in providing white laborers for those who wanted their services. Mobile, Montgomery, and Huntsville newspapers advertised the services of these agencies.¹³

Despite the public's interest in immigration, the legislature that convened in November 1865 did not adopt a broad plan for attracting new workers. However, it did enact limited legislation directed to the same general purpose. The legislature passed "An act to encourage immigration and to protect immigrant labor" which was primarily concerned with regulating the relations of prospective employers and employees by protecting both parties to labor contracts.¹⁴ A second act incorporated the German Association, the purpose of which was to promote immigration.

¹¹Huntsville *Advocate*, March 24, 1866.

¹²Eufaula *Daily News*, October 14, 1865.

¹³Mobile *Advertiser and Register*, February 1, 1866; Huntsville *Daily Independent*, June 9, 1866; Montgomery *Advertiser*, August 25, 1865, November 28, 1865.

¹⁴*Acts of the Session of 1865-6 of the General Assembly of Alabama*. (Montgomery, 1866), 62-64, 254-55, hereinafter cited as *Acts of the General Assembly, 1865-6*.

Immigrants did come to Alabama, but there was no large scale influx and white laborers were never sufficiently numerous to replace black labor. The *Montgomery Advertiser* reported in April 1867 that only 200 of 13,000 immigrants entering the port of New York during March indicated any intention of coming to the South.¹⁵ No immigrants arrived at the port of Mobile between the end of the war and September 30, 1866. European immigrants had avoided the South in the antebellum period, and the postwar situation was scarcely more attractive. Like the rest of the South, Alabama could not compete with the West which did not have the supply of cheap black labor and where political conditions were more stable.

Less than a month after it had made one of numerous appeals for publicity about immigration, the *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser* stated: "... until the perfect restoration of order and the complete rehabilitation of the people, no considerable current of immigration will set in this direction."¹⁷ Although some efforts to encourage immigration continued, white Alabamians generally realized by 1867, if not before that they had to come to terms with free black labor.

Despite misgivings about free black labor, individual citizens had begun to make personal adjustments to the new situation shortly after the war ended. Since the farming season had just begun, it was necessary to make some arrangements to avoid a total loss. Two cases illustrate the practical arrangements that were made in the summer of 1865. Sarah Espy, a widow who managed a plantation in Cherokee County, recorded in her diary a contract with a black couple. The man and woman were to receive food, clothing, and the produce of their garden. In return they would continue to perform the same duties they had as slaves.¹⁸ In June 1865 Dr. Basil Manly, Sr., former president of the University of Alabama, reported contracting with the field hands and house servants on his Tuscaloosa County plantation for a share of the crop

¹⁵*Montgomery Advertiser*, April 16, 1867.

¹⁶U. S. Congress, House, *Executive Documents*, No. 39, "Immigration," 39th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Serial Set No. 1289), 68-69.

¹⁷*Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, May 14, 1867.

¹⁸Sarah Rodgers Espy Diary, July 3, 1865 (Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery).

plus food, clothing, shelter, fuel and medical care.¹⁹ In both contracts the services provided by the employer differed little from ante-bellum practices. Both also provided for a share of produce to be given to the employee rather than wages.

The early agreements were often unsatisfactory to both parties. In an attempt to remedy this, General Wager Swayne, assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, issued orders in May and August of 1865 regarding the making of contracts. Contracts of a month or more duration were to be in writing and approved by a Bureau agent. Employers were responsible for providing adequate food, clothing, and medical care in addition to any monetary compensation which might be agreed upon. The contract served as a lien on the crop, not more than half of which could be moved until wages had been paid in full.²⁰

The Bureau regulations fell far short of solving contract problems. Many blacks were still unwilling to negotiate any contract at all, and they remained unwilling until the end of the year when the expected Yuletide land distribution did not materialize. Much misunderstanding and mistrust developed between blacks and whites regarding the details of payments and obligations. Carl Schurz, who was sent by President Johnson to investigate conditions in the South, included in his report to Congress a statement that some employers were driving blacks off the plantation as soon as the crop was made.²¹

Matters were further complicated by the uneven enforcement of the regulations by Freedmen's Bureau agents. Dennett reported a conversation with a young planter from western Alabama. The planter, who had arranged to pay his workers fifty cents a day, had had no trouble getting the contract approved. The local Bureau agent, the young man said, allow everyone to do as he liked, even to whipping "a nigger."²²

¹⁹W. Stanley Hoole (ed.), "The Diary of Dr. Basil Manley, 1858-1867," Part V, *Alabama Review*, V (1952), 142.

²⁰U. S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Documents*, No. 6, "Freedmen's Affairs," 39th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Serial Set No. 1276), 4.

²¹U. S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Documents*, No. 2, "Condition of the South," 39th Cong., 1st Sess. (Serial Set No. 1237), 82.

²²Dennett, *The South As It Is: 1865-1866*, 291-92.

Such attitudes on the part of the agents were hardly conducive to promoting a mutually satisfactory labor situation.

General Swayne's motives and role in Alabama's labor situation is not entirely clear. He was the only Southerner among the Bureau's assistant commissioners, and he remained at his post longer than any of the others. Some evidence suggests that he complied with the wishes of the planters to the detriment of the blacks.²³ If Swayne were lenient in enforcing regulations or unconcerned with freedmen's rights, it could have affected the attitudes and actions of his subordinates. More than likely the breakdown in execution of Bureau policies was due to a lack of efficiency and enthusiasm on the part of some agents.

Whatever concessions were or were not made to planter interests, there were many white Alabamians who were only too anxious to be rid of the Bureau and particularly of the Northerners who staffed it. This encouraged some scattered efforts to regulate labor through local associations. The first and apparently the most successful of these groups was the Monroe County Agricultural Association which was formed in late 1865. Monroe County, located in the southwest part of the state on the Alabama River, had more than 50 per cent blacks in its population, a fact which probably made local control particularly important to the whites. The association authorized the executive committee to see that contracts were made and carried out fairly, to draw up contracts when requested to do so by the parties involved, and to act as an arbitrator in contract disputes with the decision subject to appeal to the association president. Contracts for a term exceeding one month were to be put in writing. No contract could be negotiated while another was operative, and any member found guilty of encouraging such practices would forfeit the protection of the association. An important feature of the plan was the provision for the appointment of the president as the local Bureau agent. The association did not intend to confine its attention entirely to the labor problem. It planned to aid in providing educational facilities for the blacks and homes for the aged and helpless. The work was

²³Swayne's role is discussed in William McFeeley, *Yankee Stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the Freedmen*. (New Haven, 1968), 77-78.

to be financed by dues which were not to exceed five dollars for each freedmen employed by a member.²⁴

The plan embodied in the Monroe County Agricultural Association met with the approval of General Swayne, and state newspapers endorsed it. The *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, on two occasions, cited advantages of the plan. It would help to alleviate distrust between planter and freedman, the editorialist declared, and by its official connection with the Freedmen's Bureau, it would be free from Northern attacks.²⁵ The editorialist assumed that replacing outsiders with local people would improve relations between the races (a common assumption not limited, of course, to the labor question). There was no apparent Northern disapproval, but this was probably due to the plan's limited operation rather than its connection with the Bureau. It may simply have been regarded as unimportant.

After Swayne officially indicated his approval by appointing the association president as the local Bureau agent, planters in Clarke and Conecuh counties held meetings and adopted constitutions similar to that of the Monroe Association. The Monroe County plan did provide an approach to the labor situation that might well have been successful had it spread and had it been carried out in good faith. The operation in Monroe County must have been at least partially satisfactory. It was praised, not only by local residents and conservative newspapers, but also by the Radical-oriented *Mobile Nationalist*. Reporting expectations for a larger than usual crop in Monroe, the paper attributed it to the "just policy" toward the freedmen operating there.²⁶

When the state legislature convened in December 1865, the continued uncertainty of the labor supply influenced its actions. The congregating of blacks in towns and cities and their continuing refusal to work led to the passage of two bills concerned with vagrancy. The first bill amended the 1852 Code by adding to the list of those classified as vagrants runaway servants, stubborn servants, and any person who habitu-

²⁴*Mobile Advertiser and Register*, December 19, 1865.

²⁵*Ibid.*, October 11, 1865; December 19, 1865.

²⁶*Mobile Nationalist*, May 24, 1866.

ally neglected the employment upon which he depends. This considerably broadened the range of persons who might be subject to arrest as vagrants. The second bill provided a system for those arrested and convicted as vagrants. It authorized county commissioners' courts to establish poor houses, the inmates of which could be hired out. The act also provided that persons convicted of vagrancy who were unable to pay a fine could be hired out as laborers, a practice that had been used in the ante-bellum period.²⁷ Governor Patton's approval of the two bills before the end of 1865 made it possible to coerce some blacks into the labor force.

Two other bills which failed to win gubernatorial approval are nevertheless indicative of the mood of the legislature. The first of these bills was a catch-all effort to deal with a wide range of problems by contract regulation. It specified the mode of drawing up contracts, provided penalties for violations by either party, and defined the enticing of a black person away from his place of employment as a misdemeanor.²⁸ General Swayne observed in a letter to General O. O. Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau: "We can get along in this state without a contract law of any kind and it is proposed to try it."²⁹ Patton evidently agreed with Swayne's views, or succumbed to his influence, because he did not sign the bill.

The most controversial measure was entitled "An act to regulate the relation of master and apprentice as relates to freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes."³⁰ It empowered justices of the peace to apprentice minors and those whose parents could not or would not support them. The most objectionable part of the measure to Northerners gave preference to former owners in apprenticing black minors. The Northern public interpreted this as an attempt to re-enslave the young free blacks of Alabama. The fact that the apprenticing was com-

²⁷ *Acts of the General Assembly, 1865-6*, 116, 119, 121.

²⁸ *Journal of the Session of 1865-6 of the Senate of the State of Alabama* (Montgomery, 1866), 104-05, hereinafter cited as *Senate Journal, 1865-6*.

²⁹ Major General Wager Swayne to Brigadier General Oliver O. Howard, January 31, 1866, Freedmen's Bureau Records, Alabama, 1865-68, (Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D. C.)

³⁰ *Senate Journal, 1865-6*, 138.

pulsory was also criticized. Although Patton did not sign this bill, one very much like it did receive his approval before the legislative session ended.

The labor situation stabilized in the early months of 1866 despite the generally unsatisfactory public and private attempts at regulation. When the anticipated land division did not occur at Christmas of 1865, blacks were forced by necessity to make some arrangements to support themselves. Swayne reported in January 1866 that contracts were being made. The employees usually received food, shelter, and medical care plus ten dollars per month for men and eight dollars for women.³¹

Negotiation of contracts was a step toward stabilizing the labor system, but problems were not solved until the terms were fulfilled to the satisfaction of both parties. Alabama whites disliked the idea of paying wages to the freedmen from the beginning. The planters did not feel that wage labor could be adequately controlled for the length of time required to make the cotton crop.³² The lack of sufficient specie made wage payments even more undesirable for the planters, and the practice became increasingly unpopular. The Bureau orders providing for a lien on the crop for the laborer's wages sometimes led to complications. The employer usually had to sell the crop before he had the money to pay wages, but when the freedmen saw the crop being moved, they feared that they would not be payed and took action against the employer. Thus, it seemed more practical to contract for shares of the crop than for wages. The development of the share-crop system was further encouraged by the widespread belief among whites that, if a share of the crop were involved, blacks would be less likely to break contracts.³³

The United States Commissioner of Agriculture commented extensively on the Southern situation in his 1867 report. He

³¹Swayne to Howard, January 2, 1866, Freedmen's Bureau Records.

³²U. S. Congress, *Executive Documents*, No. 6, "Freedmen's Affairs," 39th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Serial Set No. 1276), 7. Zeichner, "The Transition from Slave to Free Agricultural Labor in the Southern States," *Agricultural History*, XIII (1939), 30.

³³Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1949), 436-37; *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, January 25, 1866; Francis W. Loring and C. F. Atkinson (eds.), *Cotton Culture and the South, Considered with Reference to Emigration* (Boston, 1869), 13, 103.

attributed the decline of the wage system to failures on the part of both blacks and whites — the idleness and inefficiency of the blacks and the inexperience of the whites in managing free labor. The Commission observed:

To presume that ignorant slaves, herded in masses, released from all control except the restraints of statute law, should at once become models of industry, frugality, and foresight, is to accredit to them a higher wisdom than could be expected of their masters in their new relations.³⁴

Success had been achieved, the Commissioner noted, by those planters who had the trust of their employees and who understood the new situation. Thus, necessity born of failure and an inclination to bind blacks as closely as possible to the land led to the share-crop system that was to burden whites and blacks of Alabama — and the other Southern states — for many years to come.

The adjustment to free labor would have been difficult even if other circumstances had been ideal. Unfortunately, the situation in Alabama was far from ideal. The mania for cotton planting tended to lock planters and small farmers alike into traditional agricultural patterns and stifled any innovative inclinations. The obsession with cotton production was particularly strong in 1865 and 1866 because of the high prices which the crop brought. Even when prices declined, the emphasis on cotton continued because it was the crop with which both blacks and whites were most familiar.

Unfavorable natural conditions also influenced the situation. A period of too much rain was followed by one with too little. Rust, caterpillars, boll weevils, and, in some cases all three, attacked the cotton crop in Marengo, Choctaw, and Sumter counties. The same dismal conditions prevailed across much of the rest of the state in 1866.³⁵ Unfortunately the grim agricultural conditions continued into 1867.

The question asked by whites was simple: will the freedmen work? By 1867 necessity had assured an affirmative an-

³⁴*Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1867* (Washington, 1868), p. 417

³⁵*Mobile Advertiser and Register*, April 7, 1866; *Grove Hill Clarke County Journal*, September 13, 1866.

swer in the vast majority of cases. More important in the long run were the terms under which blacks and whites would work together. The two years preceding the passage of the Military Reconstruction Acts saw the formation of patterns which provided an unfortunate continuity from ante-bellum to post-bellum years.

Adjustment to free labor in Alabama proceeded simultaneously along three lines. The first line, private individual action, was initiated as soon as persons realized that agricultural work could not continue if agreements were not made. Success or failure of such arrangements depended almost entirely on the nature of the slave-master relationship. A man known as a "good master" had little trouble hiring free blacks; conversely a "bad master" found hiring difficult at first. The second line of adjustment was that of private groups such as the Monroe County Agricultural Association. Because of the limited operation of this plan, one can only speculate about its value. However, given prevailing white attitudes toward blacks, the Monroe plan almost certainly would not have solved all the problems involved. The plan envisioned no real cooperation between whites and blacks. It was merely another means of controlling "free" labor.

The third line of adjustment was the official actions of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Alabama legislature. The Bureau proclamations and state legislation attempted to bring order to the situation. Some form of control was an integral part of these official actions; there was no idea of allowing the freedmen to have complete freedom in working out their economic lives. Too often official action merely reenforced traditional attitudes and practices without providing innovative leadership.

From the beginning, there was no question but that white Alabamians intended their state to remain a "white man's country." Socially and politically blacks were to be denied privileges enjoyed by whites. Black labor was necessary to the economy, but it too could be regulated by whites. Thus, by early 1866, blacks were making contracts out of necessity on white terms. Eventually these terms meant sharing the crop and blacks found themselves in a condition not too dif-

ferent from that of slavery. The policies of the later phase of reconstruction did virtually nothing to alter this situation.

Traditional white attitudes and difficult agricultural conditions worked to the detriment of black Alabamians. Without political leverage, they were unable to help themselves. Tragically, the Freedmen's Bureau proved almost equally helpless in regard to the labor problem. Whether because of Swayne's sympathies or organizational weaknesses, the Bureau did little to forestall the relegation of blacks to a second class economic status. Thus, by 1867, the basic pattern of black/white adjustment to the free labor system was completed on white terms.

A HONEYMOON IN 1850

by

Ralph B. Draughon, Jr.

In the summer of 1850, when Americans were watching with excitement the debates in Congress on the Compromise of 1850, these political matters did not much concern a young lady of Macon, Georgia, who had just married a Georgia physician and begun a wedding trip through the lower South. In Julia Marsh Patterson's diary, now in the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill, she kept a record of a romantic journey through Georgia and Alabama with her husband and his valet, Toby, who drove their carriage on an extended and pleasant honeymoon. And not once in her journal did the bride mention anything about politics!

The young Mrs. Patterson was, however, a chauvinistic Georgian, and her initial impression of Alabama was most unflattering:

How different, and how dissonant then, the sterile scenery with which Alabama greets us. . . . The road was lonely, and the country so barren, that in mid-winter it might have been mistaken for the cold unfriendly shores of Siberia. . . . Here, and there at long intervals were seen, unsheltered from the burning blaze of the sun, the lowly 'log-cabin' that sufficiently betrayed the squalid poverty of their inmates. To me they appeared the inevitable abodes of wretchedness. . . .

Little else in East Alabama seemed to please the bride. She described "an accidental collection of buildings . . . dignified with a name — Cubahatchee," and she thought Crawford to be "a remarkably unostentatious looking place." As night began to fall the couple sent Toby to knock at a farmhouse door to ask for shelter, but he quickly returned so startled that his face was almost white. From the farmhouse the couple heard "the shrill voice of a woman calling out that 'it was only 4 miles to Auburn.' "

The bride was in despair and the groom was enraged by

this breach of southern hospitality. Indeed, the bride felt it her sorrowful duty to record that her husband had used some words that were not very "pious or elegant" in referring to the woman. "But where the use of vituperation?" the young Mrs. Patterson asked. "To Auburn we must go, & that right speedily, if we do not wish to be enveloped in the shadowy pall of evening. . . ."

Nevertheless, the moon rose and the night seemed "gloriously beautiful" to the newlyweds:

The effulgent splendor of the moon, now at its full, was undimmed by a single cloud, and through her leafy barrier poured a flood of such rich, silvery light that our pathway was illumined with almost the brilliance of day. It was not until nearly 10 o'clock that we first beheld the gleaming white residences, and steeples of Auburn, embosomed as they were among dark green, clustering trees. . . . Auburn as I first saw it, cannot soon be forgotten.

The bride was surprised to learn that "they boasted 3 or 4 Hotels in their lovely little town," but a Negro the couple encountered recommended the hotel by the railroad as the best. Happily ensconced there, the bride recorded, "Once domesticated we had no reason to regret the hospitality denied us by the shrew. . . ."

The next day the couple had another encounter with Alabama hospitality. It was Sunday, and as they proceeded on their journey they stopped at noon before "a large, pleasant looking mansion, whose well appointed arrangements sufficiently attested the affluence of its possessor." The owner and his wife had just returned by buggy from church, and the wife was wearing a black silk dress (it was midsummer and scorchingly hot), starched cap, and gold spectacles — "the very beautiful ideal of the dignified matron of other days."

Although the newlyweds did not receive an invitation to lunch, they decided to picnic nearby and asked a female servant if they could have some milk. She in turn consulted her mistress and returned shortly to ask if the honeymooners

wouldn't rather have clabber instead! They declined this offer, and the "feminine Shylock" grudgingly brought them a pitcher of milk. They drank it, and the doctor asked the servant the price. The bride wrote:

I must confess this was looked upon by me as a mere piece of necessary courtesy, and of course was quite surprised to hear the girl return with the message that 'the milk was a dime.' These rich gentry certainly practised Franklin's apothegm, 'take care of the pence, and the pounds will take care of themselves.'

As the couple passed through Mount Meigs the bride noted "one of the most princely mansions I had ever seen," but she also recorded a bit of local gossip about the owner of the mansion and his wife. The mistress of the house was said to be an adulteress whose husband had killed her lover in cold blood. This incident created quite a scandal in the supposedly sedate Victorian age, but it serves as a reminder that even then all marriages were not as happy as that of the young Mrs. Patterson and her groom!

At last the couple reached the home of the bride's uncle near Montgomery, and there the diary ends. As the bride recorded, "Montgomery was a city which I had long desired to visit, having made many delightful acquaintances from there at the Watering Places of Georgia. . . . Now I was within 5 miles of the city of my dreams. . . ." And in her happy location near Montgomery, amid a schedule of callers and musicales, tea parties and dances, she was able to forget about the occasional lapses of hospitality in East Alabama and concluded her account of what seems to have been a very idyllic honeymoon in 1850.

THE SOUTH MOURNS A LEADER: THE DEATH OF JOHN C. CALHOUN

by

William Warren Rogers

Among the notables who died in 1850 were Honore Balzac, Zachary Taylor, William Wordsworth, and Robert Peel. While their deaths were attended with appropriate testimonial and lamentations, none of these men received the plaudits accorded John C. Calhoun, United States Senator from South Carolina. It was not that such eminent men went unmourned, but more that Calhoun's death evoked from his fellow Southerners, particularly journalists (many of them educated in the classics), an outpouring of Victorian grief. A number of Southern newspapermen were also creative writers, and most had ability that went substantially beyond reportorial competence. Their skill in expressing sorrow with the printed word needed only a worthy subject, and their region had produced none more worthy than Calhoun.

Death came on March 31, 1850, a few days after Calhoun had sat silently through his last speech, delivered for him because of his illness by Senator James M. Mason of Virginia. Calhoun's final address had been a defense of the Southern position concerning slavery. To many people Calhoun *was* the South. Born in 1782, he served, prior to his last years in the Senate, in the South Carolina Legislature, in the House of Representatives, as James Monroe's Secretary of War, as Vice President during Andrew Jackson's first administration, and as John Tyler's Secretary of State. Such a record, spanning the years from 1808 to 1850, made this Scotch-Irish native of South Carolina's Abbeville District the South's unrivaled champion. "His name is breathed in reverence upon the mountain breeze," an awe-struck admirer recorded.¹ According to an Alabama editor he was "the living embodiment of Southern sentiment and feeling, the bold and independent leader of the defenders of Southern right and constitutional liberty. . . ."²

¹St. Augustine *Florida Sentinel*, July 9, 1850.

²Huntsville *Democrat*, April 11, 1850.

At public and private gatherings ministers, politicians, and friends paid tribute to the South Carolinian, but the largest audience was reached by Southern newspapermen. Always outspoken, frequently vindictive, the Southern press reached a temporary truce. Partisan differences were forgotten as Dixie journalists joined their talents to praise Calhoun. In doing so they sounded a chorus of Victorian accolades that might have drawn only reluctant approval from their subject. After all, Calhoun's fame was based in part on concise and compact logic. Still, as a Southerner, he would have understood that there are occasions when something more than incisive expression is permissible. In any case, Southern editors heaped encomiums on Calhoun which stand unchallenged in ante-bellum United States history as a unique collection of death euphemisms. Made possible by a rare combination of event, time, place, and people, the newspaper coverage was without precedent, and it would never be duplicated.

This article traces the manner in which Calhoun's death was reported in Southern papers. Within his native state the *Charleston Daily Courier* voiced a majority opinion when it remarked that Calhoun "towered among his countrymen, both morally and intellectually, in colossal and pyramidal grandeur."³ Newspapers in other Southern states were no less unstinting in their praise. The sheer volume of words written about Calhoun was testimony to his reputation in the South.

Calhoun had been ill for several months, but "the news of his demise," reported the *Clarksville Jeffersonian* from Tennessee, "was not looked for at this time. . . ."⁴ Avoiding the word "death" with adroit circumlocution, editorialists conveyed what North Carolina's *Charlotte Journal* called "the melancholy intelligence,"⁵ by noting that Calhoun was extinguished, dismissed, removed, eclipsed, blotted, fallen, struck down, no more, sleeping, gone, faded, lost, transferred, and set. He passed away, and if he ebbed, he also ascended.

³Quoted in Savannah [Georgia] *Morning News*, April 3, 1850. See also J. P. Thomas (editor), *The Carolina Tribune to Calhoun* (Columbia, 1857), *passim*. Robert E. Lee's death in 1870 might be cited as being more deeply mourned than that of Calhoun, but with Lee the feelings of sorrow were not only for a fallen hero but also for the Confederacy and the "Lost Cause."

⁴April 16, 1850.

⁵April 10, 1850.

Calhoun's voice, a Florida editor wrote, was "hushed in the abode of eternal silence!"⁶ He was stricken down like a "wounded eagle," according to the *Albany Patriot*, a Georgia newspaper.⁷ Homage was not long in coming to the man, who, as the *Lynchburg Virginian* expressed it, lay "cold and lifeless beneath the damp sods of the tomb."⁸

Inevitably, Calhoun's life was made analogous to celestial bodies. "A great light has gone out," declared the *Alabama Journal* at Montgomery, "from among the highest and most brilliant in our political constellation."⁹ The *Macon Georgia Citizen* observed that Calhoun's star "had been struck from our political firmament."¹⁰ Noting that a great mind had "cast aside the coils of humanity," Florida's *Pensacola Gazette* added, "One of the brightest stars in our political galaxy is blotted from the heavens."¹¹ In Alabama the *Huntsville Democrat* declared, "Like a fixed star in the zenith of the firmament, altho' occasionally obscured by clouds, he has remained at the lofty point, where he was first discovered, and has lost nothing in altitude or brightness during the lapse of years."¹²

Southern editors appropriated verse and chapter from the Bible to express their sentiments. In Florida, the *St. Augustine Ancient City* believed Calhoun's death would grieve South Carolina in the manner of "Rachael mourning for her first son and refusing to be comforted."¹³ From the nation's capital, the *Washington Daily Union* added to the ecclesiastical theme by asserting "A great man indeed has fallen in Israel."¹⁴ "Our Joshua sleeps with his fathers," wrote the editor of the *St. Augustine Florida Sentinel*.¹⁵

Calhoun's dedication and indefatigability were not neglected. He died "in harness" and "nailed to his post" (St.

⁶St. Augustine *Florida Sentinel*, July 2, 1850.

⁷April 5, 1850.

⁸April 8, 1850.

⁹April 9, 1850. For a similar opinion held by another Alabama newspaper see *Tuskegee Macon Republican*, April 11, 1850.

¹⁰April 11, 1850.

¹¹April 6, 1850.

¹²April 11, 1850.

¹³April 6, 1850.

¹⁴April 2, 1850.

¹⁵July 2, 1850.

Augustine *Ancient City*¹⁶); and "in the midst of his labors" (Macon [Georgia] *Telegraph*¹⁷). The image of Calhoun's suffering was evoked by a North Carolina newspaper when the *Raleigh Register* commented that "the angel of death has walked with him for some time past. . . ." ¹⁸ A similar point that "His life ebbed in its wasted tide," was made by a Virginia journal.¹⁹ "The feeble frame," in the words of the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* "at last dismissed the immortal tenant,"²⁰ and when this occurred the Mobile, Alabama, *Daily Register* proclaimed it a "national infliction."²¹ Another writer concluded, "The country has lost a statesman and patriot, and the South one of her ablest and most devoted friends."²²

Newspapers outside of the South reported Calhoun's death. In London *The Times*, expressing the English view, mentioned that the South had lost its foremost leader, one who "justly commanded the high respect even of those whose views were farthest opposed to his own."²³ Closer home, Northern journals offered more subdued appraisals than their Southern counterparts. Yet Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune* devoted a full column of its editorial page and two columns of its supplement to Calhoun's career. Greeley was not effusive about Calhoun's worth but remarked that "His private virtues have never been questioned by those [who] have personally and intimately known him."²⁴

Twentieth century euglogies seem positive understatements when compared to those written about the South Carolina statesman. Yet, if the editorial hyperbole was flamboyant, it was in good taste. While the examples cited here are only a sampling, they are representative. It seems clear that the free-wheeling use of metaphors was not strained, while there were, as well, expressions of gentle poignance. An Alabama editor wrote, "Peace be to his ashes, and a living, breathing,

¹⁶April 6, 1850.

¹⁷Quoted in Tallahassee *Floridian & Journal*, April 6, 1850.

¹⁸April 6, 1850.

¹⁹Richmond *Whig and Advertiser*, April 2, 1850.

²⁰April 1, 1850.

²¹April 1, 1850.

²²Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, April 9, 1850.

²³April 17, 1850.

²⁴April 1, 1850.

enduring monument to his memory in the grateful hearts of his admiring countrymen!"²⁵ Perhaps the best statement, one that would have pleased the intense, sharply-honed mind of Calhoun, came from the *Washington Daily Union*: "We trust that gracious providence will temper the wind to the shorn lamb."²⁶

²⁵Huntsville *Democrat*, April 11, 1850.

²⁶April 2, 1850.

BOOK REVIEW

John Ramsey. *Spain: The Rise of the First World Power*.
(University: University of Alabama Press, 1973. 341 pp.
Bibliography, and index. \$10.50.)

Professor Ramsey's book is the first of a series released by the University of Alabama Press on the Mediterranean world. Those interested in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Spanish history will welcome Ramsey's study since he clearly summarizes the major political, diplomatic, social, and economic characteristics of the kingdom of Ferdinand and Isabel.

The object of Ramsey's study is to discover and mark those elements which prepared Spain for her discovery of the New World and emergence as a major European power in the sixteenth century. In the process, he refutes arguments that the Spanish accidentally stumbled onto greatness in European and colonial affairs. One of the fundamental assertions of Professor Ramsey is that Spain reached its important status as a result of the experiences of reconquering the home land from the Arabs since this forced Spaniards to develop policies governing constantly changing frontiers inhabited by people of different cultural and religious backgrounds. The organizational skills and the creation of colonial policies were coupled with a religious zeal and a tradition of adventure which set the background for future Spanish exploits in the New World. Ramsey argues that Spain's experiences in the Middle Ages thus created "a will to empire, a willingness to undertake tremendous exertions, a shouldering of huge responsibilities, the unremunerative as well as the remunerative (p. 239)."

The volume is divided into two parts. The first serves as an introduction to Spanish history prior to the joint reign of Ferdinand and Isabel in which Ramsey suggests those problems and issues forcing Spain to become a unified nation with the skills and strength to drive on toward the acquisition of territories in Europe and America. The second half, containing the meat of the book, deals with the reign proper. He devotes chapters to the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel, administration, religion, war against the Arabs, origins of

their American and European holdings, and the succession. In each case, the author clearly defines the central problems involved and marshals sufficient evidence to explain them.

Ramsey's book is a work of synthesis rather than a monograph relying on new or unpublished materials. Since few general histories of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel are worthy of serious consideration, Ramsey's book is a welcome addition to Spanish historiography. His is a refreshing and balanced account based on available literature.

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A Narrative of the life of David Crockett of the State of Tennessee. By David Crockett. Edited by James A. Shackford and Stanley J. Folmsbee. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1973. Pp. xx, 211. \$7.95.)

For some years I have been waging intermittent warfare on Hollywood and television by firing off letters (always unanswered) to various producers pointing out instances in which historical facts have been massacred in cold blood. I have also been at pains to point out some of these travesties of history to my students in the classroom. If, for example, they should ever find themselves armed only with a hand gun and confronted with an Indian, rustler, or their mother-in-law, any one of whom is armed with a rifle, they should run for their lives. Only Paul Newman, Charlton Heston, or Joel McCrae can fire a pistol accurately enough to gun down a man at two hundred yards. Fess Parker (Daniel Boone) should not keep diving into rivers to rescue people because the historical fact that Daniel Boone couldn't swim might catch up with him some day and old Fess would go down like a rock.

Davey Crockett came in for special treatment. He was, I said, a loud-mouthed windbag who chickened out when it came time for Andrew Jackson to fight the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend. And at the Alamo there is reason to believe that the defenders did not fight to the last man. Five of them surrendered and one was Davey Crockett (Santa Anna executed

him anyhow). During one such dissertation a freshman student stalked out of the class room, furiously calling into question my ancestry as he departed.

The media should adopt a Fairness Doctrine for history, and I can think of no better starting point than a production on Davey Crockett based on this Tennesseana Editions publication of Crockett's *Narrative* (historical and technical consultant: Stanley J. Folmsbee, Professor Emeritus of History, University of Tennessee).

The late Professor James Shackford had already conducted a search which did much to separate the legend from the life of Crockett and Professor Folmsbee acknowledges his indebtedness to Shackford's scholarship. The introduction traces the intricate history of the *Narrative* in a story almost as fascinating as Davey's own. Numerous works that claimed to be autobiographical appeared in the one hundred years following Crockett's death and many were accepted as authentic by reputable scholars. But, as Professor Folmsbee ably demonstrates, only the *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett of the State of Tennessee*, published in Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1834 by Carey and Hart, can be said to have originated with Crockett himself. And the *Narrative*, by Davey's own admission was actually composed by Thomas Chilton, a congressman from Kentucky, as a campaign document in Crockett's unsuccessful bid for a fourth term in Congress. But if one allows for the frequent political allusions "the historical facts are generally quite accurate." (p. x.) In this facsimile edition Professor Folmsbee's careful scholarship provides the reader with the necessary understanding of political background and motivation.

The editor's scholarship is perhaps of greater importance in demonstrating the literary value of the *Narrative*. It was "a very early example of American humor, the first of the Southwest variety," and one of the first American autobiographies, especially of that genre which produced much of American folklore and folk heroes. It was also "of importance in the history of American English, being replete with dialectical usages, proverbial expressions, and spellings representing non-standard pronunciations." (p. ix.) The *Narrative* is there-

fore an important document not only for what it tells us about Crockett, but for what it contributes to the American folk legend of success. Professor Folmsbee's exhaustive annotations make this a rich contribution to the history of the Old Southwest.

As for me, I now appreciate the fact that Davey's boast and brag concealed more than a little political talent and acumen. But a man who set out to be "King of the Wild Frontier" should have made it to Horseshoe Bend.

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Louis S. Gerteis. *From Contraband to Freedman: Federal Policy Toward Southern Blacks, 1861-1865*. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1973. Pp. 255. \$11.50.)

In this well-documented account, Gerteis rejects the view maintained by many historians that the Civil War and the abolition of slavery brought about changes which significantly improved the status of Southern blacks. It is his opinion that the war and the emancipation of blacks did not lead to a social revolution nor to a dramatic change in the society and economy of the Southern states.

Gerteis states that the *de facto* emancipation of blacks and the initiation of a contraband policy began on May 23, 1861, after three slaves made their way to Union pickets at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, and requested protection from their owners. At the time there was no congressional or executive policy governing contrabands. As blacks in increasing numbers came to Fortress Monroe, General Benjamin F. Butler appointed a superintendent of contraband labor and began to use male contrabands in constructing breastworks around the town of Hampton.

Within a short period Union troops extended their control in six Virginia counties, the Sea Islands of South Carolina, and portions of North Carolina. Early in 1862 Confederate defenses on the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers and portions

of western Tennessee, Arkansas, and northern Mississippi, including the strategic cities of Memphis and New Orleans, were occupied. In July, 1863, Vicksburg was lost by Confederate forts.

By 1865 more than a million blacks in the Tidewater and the Eastern Shore of Virginia, the Carolinas, Louisiana, and the Mississippi Valley were in Union lines. Approximately 700,000 of these persons lived in the Mississippi Valley, but less than 238,000 of all contrabands came under organized federal control.

In 1862 the contract labor system was introduced by General Butler in Louisiana. By 1864 this system had spread throughout occupied sections of the South. In addition, confiscated and abandoned farms were used in providing land to lessees, and contraband farms and home farms under the supervision of federal officials were established.

Only a few of the lessees were blacks. Some were northerners, while others were "loyal" southerners. Blacks were also employed on private plantations. Occasionally they were allowed to cultivate small garden plots, and in rare instances a few blacks purchased small farms. The vast majority of contrabands worked for white lessees or on private farms as field hands. They were frequently exploited, cruelly treated, or otherwise victimized by their employers as well as by some Union troops and federal officials.

Gerteis believes that the emancipation of blacks was "a war necessity," and that the various contraband labor systems employed in the occupied areas of the South "succeeded only to the extent that they usefully served the Union's military needs." He adds: "Nowhere in the South did army commanders or government officials seek to liberate blacks from antibellum conditions or subordination and dependence." At the same time he concedes that the federal labor system did serve "in part to protect blacks from the ravages of war and the worst abuses of slavery."

The contract labor system laid the foundation for the emergence of tenantry and sharecropping after the war. Deci-

sions made during the war affecting contrabands "shaped postwar policies toward the freedman and in large measure precluded the possibility of racial and social reconstruction in the South."

The Freedman Bureau which was created in March, 1865, had only limited authority and did "little more than preside over the legislation of wartime labor programs while facilitating the restoration of antebellum property rights and the institution of a contract labor system throughout the South."

Several fresh conclusions regarding the federal contraband policy have been presented in this valuable study. It seems to this reviewer, however, that congressional and executive measures, as well as the actions of individual federal officials were motivated to a greater degree by humanitarian impulses than Gerteis is willing to concede.

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Lucille Griffith. *Alabama College, 1896 - 1969*. (Montevallo, Alabama, 1969. 297 pp. \$8.50.)

"As institutions serve, they change," observed Dr. Arthur Fort Harman, president of Alabama College a quarter of a century ago. Perhaps no school in the state has undergone more radical alterations or shown itself more adaptable to the changing times than has the recently renamed University of Montevallo. In *Alabama College, 1896 - 1969*, Dr. Lucille Griffith describes the steps by which the state industrial high school for girls was transformed into the four-year coeducation liberal arts college that received university status last year.

This volume is the result of painstaking research in every available source. It is written with commendable objectivity and is documented thoroughly. The index is not quite complete, but its omissions are minor. The early pioneering years have been studied with special care, and the case of the dismissal of Captain Henry Clay Reynolds, a Montevallo merchant

who served as the first head of the school, has been exhaustively investigated and impartially reported.

The plan of the history is a practical one. After the account of the founding and of the first administration, each chapter becomes a complete history of one aspect of the institution. Perhaps the most fundamental chapter is the summary of the principal events and special achievements of the eight administrations between those of Captain Reynolds and the recently inaugurated Dr. Kermit Johnson. Dr. Griffith has been able to convey something of the personality of each president and to indicate the color or tone of his administration. From the point of view of the extraordinary new directions the years have brought, no chapter is more significant than the one entitled "A Changing Curriculum." Although most readers will be conscious of the off-campus contributions of such distinguished faculty members as Dr. Hallie Farmer, the section on "Serving the Wider Community" is a revelation concerning many services the college renders to the state. The alumni, to whom the volume is dedicated, will probably relish most keenly the lively accounts of traditions (such as College Night) and of student life (including even typical menus of the past), matters that are the subject of the final chapters. They may find interest also in the lists of names in the ten appendices.

Besides its scholarship and its balanced presentation, this story of Alabama College is distinguished by its recognition of personalities. Unlike some historians of institutions, Dr. Griffith has not labored to keep her record impersonal. She is aware of the impact of many individuals, and as a result her narrative is laced throughout with names. Not only administrators appear but also certain trustees, many faculty and staff members, a number of students, and even a dormitory maid. Students' impressions of their teachers, collected chiefly by means of an alumni questionnaire, add a special dimension to the portrait gallery in the last chapter. The campus becomes a collective personality through the awareness of all these persons.

The author, professor of history at Montevallo, has already established a reputation for thorough and careful research through her published studies in American history. Her col-

lege is fortunate to possess a scholar of such ability for the important task of planning and composing the history of its first seventy-five years.

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Jean-Rodolphe De Salis. *Switzerland and Europe: Essays and Reflections of J.R. De Salis*. Translated from the original German by Alexander and Elizabeth Henderson. Introduction by Christopher Hughes. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1972. Pp. 316 with Bibliographical Notes and References. \$7.50.)

This collection of translated essays, a slightly earlier edition of which appeared in England (London, 1971), offers for the first time to English-language readers a sample of the thought and scholarships of the eminent Swiss critic and historian, Jean-Rodolphe De Salis. Included in the selections which the translators present us are a section of eight essays dealing with the history of Switzerland, the peculiarly historical nature of its identity as a nation and its place in the Europe of today. Two additional essays relating to Swiss history and contemporary European relations are also included which were originally critiques by De Salis of other writers. Less relevant to the titular theme of "Switzerland and Europe" are essays on the background of the European wars of the Twentieth century, "German History through Swiss Eyes," a long essay concerning the life and historical scholarship of the nineteenth-century Swiss historian Jean Simonde de Sismondi, and two narrative accounts by De Salis of visits to Prague and Vienna during the emergence of the postwar East-West division of Europe.

De Salis is a strong apologist for what he calls the "Swiss Way." His essays on his native country demonstrate the recurrent theme that the role Switzerland should play in the contemporary world of political and ideological polarization is to provide an historical example of the capacity to reconcile political, linguistic, religious and ideological conflicts. The Swiss historical achievement, as De Salis views it, lies in the

creation of nationhood through the historic development of the sense of political community, the participation of the individual citizen in the sovereign entity of the state. This accomplishment — in the face of the divisive forces of differing ethnic identities and religious influences — not to mention the particularist strains imposed by modern nationalism upon a multinational state — rests upon the shared consciousness of the past and upon shared values which are largely political in nature. History, for the Swiss, is essential for the maintenance of the sense of national identity and for the values which give coherence and validity to the community. The Swiss experience, De Salis argues, offers instructive examples in the ways by which order and cooperation can be achieved despite conflict and diversity.

De Salis' essays are models of didactic prose characterized by an urbane and serious style to which the translators appear to do full justice. For the American reader, their appearance is timely. De Salis' defense of his country's traditions, of its policy of neutrality in the Cold War and even of its economic and financial policies affords a thought-provoking and needed counterbalance to the current popular images of Switzerland as a greedy, "neutralist" state where the dishonestly gotten wealth of tax-dodging American businessmen and gangsters is harbored in unnumbered bank accounts.

Christopher Hughes provides an interesting, though too brief, introduction to this collection of essays; one might wish that he had included somewhat more detail regarding De Salis' major works on European history, which still await translation.

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Arch Fredric Blakey. *The Florida Phosphate Industry: A History of the Development and Use of a Vital Mineral*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973. Pp. xxi, 197. \$13.00.)

Arch Blakey's *The Florida Phosphate Industry* is a business history of significant contemporary interest. It contrasts

the missions of ecologist and industrialist in the Author's Preface. Easily understood, written in a mood of balance and fairness, the Preface traces the seemingly inevitable conflict of technology and environment; it tells us there is hope and points to realistic progress. Much as some parents come to be identified by their bright and interesting children, *The Florida Phosphate Industry* faces the risk of being known as the book in which one finds the *Blakey Preface*. This is far from lamentable. It is a result, not of inadequacy of writing or content within the body of the volume, but rather of the extreme brilliance of the Preface.

Phosphorus is essential to life. Florida is a major supplier of it to our country and to the world, and has been since the discovery and development of phosphorus in Florida prior to the turn of the century. This history fairly bristles with the polished facts of pains-taking research, yet is told as an appealing homespun-like story of a frontier industry that started, faltered, started again and grew to major status. A mining business by nature, it is described simply enough for one to savor, understand and appreciate the evolution of plant and equipment from 19th century pick ax to today's 72 cubic yard dragline buckets and multi-million dollar processing plants. The problems of labor strife, excess capacity, burdensome taxation, and land reclamation are explained in a bipartisan way as Blakey tracks the struggle of this industry for survival and maturity.

Nimrod T. Frazer

